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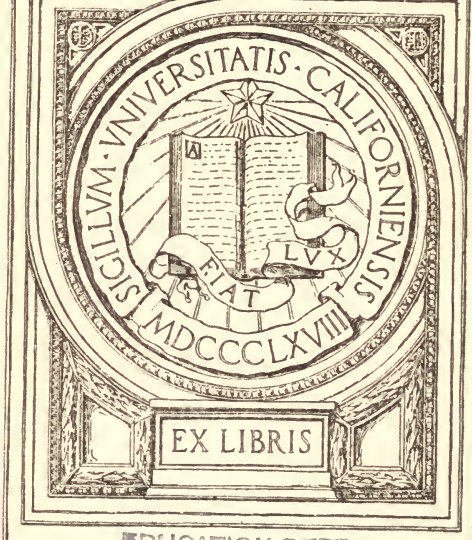

EDUCATION DEPT.

This is a specimen of my
penmanship after Making
14 lessons of Robert
Harrison January the 24th 1843
Ohio John Scoville

R. G. Boone

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R. D. Boone

A

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA.

EMBRACING THE WHOLE PERIOD FROM THE

EARLIEST DISCOVERY

DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

In Three Parts.

BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

HARTFORD.

PUBLISHED BY EZRA STRONG.

MDCCCXXVIII.

1828

E178
U59

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, ss.

L. S.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the fourth day of September, in the fifty third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Ezra Strong, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor in the words following, to wit: "A Universal History of the United States of America, embracing the whole period from the earliest discovery down to the present time. In three parts. By a citizen of the United States. In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."—And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

EDUCATION DEPT.

PREFACE.

The writers of the following pages have used their best endeavours to present for public patronage, a correct and interesting narrative of the most important events which have transpired in our country. Their design is to exhibit, in a strong point of light, those principles of political and religious freedom, for which our progenitors fought, bled, and conquered. While we behold them braving the gloomy horrors of the desert, the appalling terrors of untutored savages, the distresses of famine and war, we admire their constancy, courage and perseverance, and rejoice in their escape from danger. While we contemplate the obstacles surmounted, the hardships endured, and the unshrinking firmness of purpose which turned a wilderness into fruitful fields, established a government of laws, and provided an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, we are lost in wonder and astonishment.

Feeling the value of those blessings which have descended to the posterity of the Pilgrims, the writers have endeavoured to contribute their mite for the benefit of the risen and rising generation. The work is designed for a family and school book, intended as a substitute for those more voluminous works which find their way to the few only, whose time and resources are sufficient to afford them. This, though in a condensed form, will be found to contain a considerable fund of information, and if well studied, will impress more strongly on the minds, the important points in our general history, than a more laborious and minute detail. The size of the type on which the volume is printed, has enabled them to present much more matter than was originally contemplated, and to give the amount of a common octavo volume, at a reduced price. Such are the advantages of history, and such its absolute necessity in a republican form of government, that no parent should be satisfied, until his family is supplied, and his children taught to lisp the name of our great, our heroic Washington.

511168

PREFACE.

That the work might be more particularly interesting, especially to the young, certain events and personal anecdotes of the revolution are given in a separate chapter, that the thread of the history might not be interrupted. Of these, the number is greater than is to be found in any other similar work. These are of a character truly interesting, and numbers of them affecting. Feats of the most heroic courage, and the most consummate tact, are related on unquestionable authority; and the more retired, but highly amiable traits of character are displayed

The comparative population, wealth, resources, and progressive improvement in the several states and territories, will be found particularly useful to those who may design to change their places of abode, and it is fully believed, that as a family book, on this subject, it has a claim to the most liberal patronage.

Notice.

The publisher is well aware of the objections which are made to an anonymous work. This work was prepared by several hands, capable of the undertaking, and to avoid the necessity of giving credit to several names, it was thought best to state the whole under the general title of *A Citizen of the United States*, which circumstances will be considered as a sufficient apology.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES.

Christopher Columbus, who was destined to the high honour of revealing a new hemisphere to the Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had early trained himself to a seafaring life, and, having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit. This man when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East Indies by sailing westward ; but, as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa ; but the scheme appeared chimerical, it was rejected. He then repaired to the court of Portugal ; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and John II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prejudices of the great men in his court, to whom the matter was referred, caused Columbus finally to fail in his attempt there also. He next applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Arragon and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother Bartholomew (who followed the same profession, and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposals before Henry VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success. Many were the years which Christopher Columbus spent in ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court ; the impoverished state into which the finances of the united kingdom were reduced, the war with Grenada, repressing every disposition to attempt too great designs. But the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of Isabella broke through all obstructions ; she declared herself the patroness of Columbus, while her husband Ferdinand, declining to partake as an adventurer, in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of woman effect the discovery of one half of the globe !

The ships sent out on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small : with ninety men, victualed

for a year's voyage. Although the expense of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to this undertaking, yet, when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than sixteen thousand five hundred dollars, for which purpose the queen disposed of her jewels to raise the amount.

Columbus set sail from port Palos in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August, 1492 : He proceeded to the Canary Islands, and thence directed his course due west, in the latitude of about 28 N. In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land, which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise, as the superior address and management of the commander became unequal to suppress, although for those qualities he was eminently distinguished. He was at length, reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement, to abandon the enterprise and return home, if land was not discovered in three days. Probably he would not have been able to retain his men so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home, depended very much on his skill as a navigator, in conducting the vessel.

About midnight of the 11th of October, 1492, the cry was land, land, which proved to be one of the Bahama islands, which Columbus named San Salvadore ; it was only 3 deg. 30 min. lat. to the south, of the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, whence he took his departure. This navigator was still so confident in the opinion he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself then to be on an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies. Proceeding towards the S. he saw three other islands which he named St. Mary, Ferdinand, and Isabella. At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvadore on board, he learned from them that its name was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juanna. He next proceeded to an island which he called Espagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola.

Here he built a fort, and formed a small settlement ; he then returned home, having on board some of the natives whom he had taken from the different islands, on the passage. He was overtaken by a storm which had nearly proved fatal. During the storm, Columbus hastily enclosed in a cake of wax, a short account of his voyage and discovery, which he hoped, should he perish, might fall into the hands of some navigator ; or be cast ashore, and thus the knowledge of his discovery be preserved to the world. But the storm abated, and he arrived safe in Spain, March 15th, 1493, having been seven months and eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival, letters patent were issued by the king and queen, confirming to Columbus and to his heirs, all the privileges contained in an agreement which had been enacted before his departure.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus, in considering the countries which he had discovered as a part of India. Whence Ferdinand and Isabella gave them the name "Indies" in the ratification of their former agreement with Columbus, even after the error was detected, the name was retained, and the appellation of "West Indies." Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle of human nature, than the discoveries which Columbus had made; no time was lost or expense spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known. Seventeen ships were made ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board of them, among whom were many noble families, who had filled honorable stations. Ferdinand, now desirous of securing the benefits of these discoveries, applied to the Pope to be invested with a right in their newly discovered country, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction; but as it was necessary that there should be some favor of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting the savage natives to the Romish faith, which plan had its desired effect.

Alexander VII, who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be mentioned, was the most profligate and abandoned of men, being a native of Arragon, and desirous of conciliating the favor of Ferdinand, for the purpose of aggrandising his family, he readily granted his request; which, at no expence or risk tended to extend the consequence and authority of the papacy: he therefore bestowed on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered. But as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores should serve as a limit between them; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards.

Columbus sailed from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493. When he arrived at Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives in revenge for the insults and outrage which they had committed. After tracing out the plan of a town in a large plain near a spacious bay, and giving it the name of Isabella, in honor

of his patroness, the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother to preside as deputy Governor in his absence; Columbus, on the 24th of April, 1494, sailed with one ship and two small barks, to make further discoveries in those seas. In this voyage he was employed five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but none of any importance except the island of Jamaica.

Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war with the Indians, who amounted to 100,000 men, then having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsting for revenge, a disposition which appears to have been foreign to their natures. Having collected his whole force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled on a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of a single man on his part. Besides the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of which was appalling, and their effect against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, was in the highest degree destructive. Columbus had brought over with him a small body of cavalry. The Indians who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal; they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible. Besides these they had another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were bred in Europe, and had been brought hither, which being set on by their weapons, without attempting resistance, the Indians fled with all the speed which terror could excite. Numbers were slain and many made prisoners, who were immediately consigned to slavery.

At the departure of Columbus from Spain, he was appointed governor of the New World; but by false representations from his enemies, the king was persuaded to appoint another in his place. The king also gave orders that Columbus should be seized and sent to Spain; this was executed, and the heroic Columbus returned to Spain in irons. He was set at liberty by the king on his arrival, but never recovered his authority, after his return from his fourth voyage, and finding Isabella, his patroness dead, he sunk beneath his misfortunes, and died May 20th, 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

In 1497, John Cabot and his son, commenced a voyage of discovery, and on the 24th of June discovered the island of Newfoundland, which they gave the name of Prima Vesta. Leaving this they fell in with a small island which they called St. Johns. The French attempted no discoveries until 1524. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh under commission of Queen Elizabeth, arrived in America, entered Pamplico Sound, now in North Carolina,

and sailed thence to Roanoke, of this country; he took possession, and on his return to England gave so splendid a description of it, that Queen Elizabeth bestowed upon it the name of Virginia, in allusion to her being unmaried.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold discovered some part of New England. He first touched on its eastern coast, in about 43 degrees of north latitude; he made some discoveries of the adjacient ports, and gave them the name of Cape Cod, and Martha's Vineyard.

In 1603, the French made some small discoveries, and began to settle at Port Royal, on the Bay of Funda.

In 1608, Henry Hudson discovered Long Island; he also discovered and gave name to Hudson river, which retains this name to the present time.

In the story of Columbus we are introduced to a man of genius, energy, and enterprise, who surmounted every obstacle, and at length spread his sails upon the unknown waters of the Atlantic. A kind Providence auspiciously guides his way, and crowns his enterprise with the discovery of a new world.

The character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers and sufferings could shake; but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologised for his severity towards the natives on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: the change of climate, and the indispensable labor which was required of men unaccustomed to any exertion, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily; whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will.

This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discovery of the New World the warmest commendation, unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions could only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny of facts can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character.

Columbus having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that any would commence unprovoked hostilites; the cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and ven-

eration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind, equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people, was inconsistent to the views which he had of planting a colony; Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness, but should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler; professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion, and like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition! Ferdinand Columbus, his son and biographer, has with great address covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles. We see him forming a new, and in those days a mighty project; having matured his plan, we see him set himself rigorously about executing it, after being baffled by opposition, rejected by his friends, yet the RULER of the Universe guides his course, and crowns his voyage with valuable discovery.

While we admire the lofty qualities of Columbus, and look with wonder at the consequences which have resulted from his discovery, let us emulate his decision, energy and perseverance. Many are the occasions in the present world, on which it will be important to summon these to our aid; and by their means, many useful objects may be accomplished, which, without them, would be unattained.

But, while we thus press forward in the career of usefulness —while we aim to accomplish for our fellow men all the amount of good in our power, let us moderate our expectations of reward here, by the consideration that Columbus died the victim of ingratitude and disappointment.

Another consideration, of still deeper interest, is suggested by the story of Columbus. In his first voyage, he contemplated chiefly the discovery of a passage to India. We who live to mark the wonderful events which have flowed from this discovery, within the short space of three centuries, cannot but advert with awe to HIM, who attaches to the actions of a single individual, a train of consequences so stupendous and unexpected. How lightly soever, then, we may think of our conduct, let us remember that the invisible hand of Providence may be connecting with our smallest actions the most momentous results, to ourselves and others.

With respect to Americus Vespucius, it may be observed, that although he deprived Columbus of the merited honor of giving his name to the new world, and gained this distinction for himself—still, his name will ever remain stigmatized as having appropriated that to himself, which fairly belonged to another.

A peculiar trait in the rich and varied character of Columbus, remains to be noticed; that ardent and enthusiastic imagination which threw a magnificence over his whole style of thinking. Herrera intimates that he had a talent for poetry, and some slight traces of it are on record, in the book of prophecies which he presented to the Catholic sovereigns. But his poetical temperament is discernible throughout all his writings, and in all his actions. It spread a golden and glorious world around him, and tinged every thing with its own gorgeous colours. It betrayed him into visionary speculations, which subjected him to the sneers and cavillings of men of cooler and safer, but more grovelling minds. Such were the conjectures formed on the coast of Paria about the form of the earth and the situation of the terrestrial paradise; about the mines of Ophir in Hispaniola, and of the Aurea Chersonesus in Veragua; and such was the heroic scheme of a crusade for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. It mingled with his religion, and filled his mind with solemn and visionary meditations on mystic passages of the scriptures, and the shadowy portents of the prophecies. It exalted his office in his eyes, and made him conceive himself an agent sent forth upon a sublime and awful mission, subject to impulses and supernatural intimations from the deity; such as the voice which he imagined spoke to him in comfort, amidst the troubles of Hispaniola, and in the silence of night on the disasterous coast of Veragua.

He was decidedly a visionary; but a visionary of an uncommon and successful kind. The manner in which his ardent, imaginative and mercurial nature was controlled by a powerful judgment, and directed by an acute sagacity, is the most extraordinary feature in his character. Thus governed, his imagination, instead of exhausting itself in idle soarings, lent wings to his judgment, and bore it away to remote conclusions, at which common minds could never have arrived, nay, which they could not percieve when pointed out.

To his intellectual vision it was given to read the signs of the times, and in the conjectures and reveries of past ages, the indications of an unknown world; as soothsayers were said to read predictions in the stars, and to foretell events from the visions of night. "His soul," observes a Spanish writer, "was superior to the age in which he lived. For him was reserved the great enterprize to plough a sea which had given rise to so many fables, and to decipher the mystery of his time."

With all the visionary fervor of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery. Until his last breath, he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the

wild regions of the east. He supposed Hispaniola to be the ancient Ophir, which had been visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba and Terra Firma were but remote parts of Asia. What visions of glory would have broke upon his mind, could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the whole of the old world in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man: and how would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled, amidst the chills of age and cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public, and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered, and the nations, and tongues, and languages, which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!

When we read of the remains of Columbus, thus conveyed from the port of St. Domingo, after an interval of nearly three hundred years, as sacred national reliques, with civic and military pomp, and high religious ceremonial; the most dignified and illustrious men striving who most should pay them reverence; we cannot but reflect that it was from this very port he was carried off loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame and fortune, and followed by the revilings of a rabble. Such honours, it is true, are nothing to the dead, nor can they atone to the heart, now dust and ashes, for all the wrongs and sorrows it may have suffered; but they speak volumes of comfort to the illustrious, yet slandered and persecuted living, encouraging them bravely to bear with present injuries, by showing them how true merit outlives all calumny, and receives its glorious reward in the admiration of after ages.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

Part First.

CHAPTER II.

From the settlement of Jamestown to the embarkation of the Plymouth Company.

The discovery of America by Columbus, gave a new impulse to that bold spirit of adventure which characterised the hardy age in which he lived. Although several men of rank and fortune were concerned in the companies which had been formed in England for colonising America, their funds appear to have been very limited, and their first efforts were extremely feeble. The first expedition for the southern colony consisted of one vessel of 100 tons, and two barks, with 105 men destined to remain in the country. The command of this small fleet was given to Captain Newport, who sailed from the Thames the 19th of December, 1606. At the time his instructions were given, three packages, sealed with the seal of the council, were delivered, one to Captain Newport, one to Captain Bartholomew Gosnald, and the third to Captain John Ratcliffe, containing the names of the council for the colony. They were directed not to open these packages within 24 hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, and the names of his majesty's council were then to be proclaimed. The council were then to proceed to the choice of a president, who should have two votes. To this singular and unaccountable concealment have been in a great degree attributed, the dissension which distracted the colonists on their passage, and which afterwards considerably impeded the progress of their infant settlement. Newport, whose place of destination was Roanoke, took the circuitous route by

the West India islands, and had a long passage of four months. The reckoning had been out for three days, without perceiving land; and serious propositions were made for returning to England; when they were overtaken by a storm which fortunately drove them to the mouth of the Chesapeake. On the 26th of April, 1607, they discerned cape Henry, and soon after cape Charles. Impatient to land, a party of about 30 men went on shore at cape Henry, but they were immediately attacked by the natives, who considered them as enemies, and in the skirmish which ensued, several were wounded on both sides. The first employment of the colonists was to explore the adjacent country, with the appearance of which they were greatly delighted, and to select a spot on which their settlement should be made. They proceeded up a large, beautiful river, called by the natives, Powhatan, and to which they gave the name of James; on a peninsula on the north side of which they immediately agreed to make the first establishment of their colony.—This place, as well as the river, they named after their king, and called it Jamestown; there they debarked on the 13th of May, and the sealed packets being opened, Mr. Wingfield was by the council elected their president; but under frivolous and unjustifiable pretexts, they excluded from his seat among them, John Smith, whose courage and talents seem to have excited their envy, and who on the passage had been imprisoned on the improbable and unsupportable charge of intending to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia.

The colonists soon found themselves embroiled with the Indians, who attacked them suddenly while at work; but were frightened by the fire from the ship, and in a short time a temporary accommodation with them was effected. Although Newport was named of the council, he was ordered to return with the vessel to England, and the time of his departure approached. The accusers of Smith affecting a degree of humanity which they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia; but, with the pride of conscious innocence, he demanded his trial, and being honourably acquitted, took his seat in the council. About the 15th of June, Newport sailed for England, leaving behind him one bark and about 100 persons, the only English then on the continent of America. Thus about one hundred and ten years after this continent had been discovered by Cabot, and 22 years after a colony had been conducted to Roanoke by Sir Richard Grenville, the English possessions in America, designed soon to become a mighty empire, were limited to a peninsula of a few thousand acres of land, held by a small body of men, who with difficulty maintained themselves against the

paltry tribes which surrounded them, and looked in a great measure to the other side of the Atlantic for the bread on which they were to subsist. The stock of provisions for the colony had been very improvidentially laid in; it was entirely inadequate to their wants, and in addition to this original error, it had sustained great damage in the holds of their vessels, during their long passage. On the departure of Newport (during whose stay they managed to partake of the superfluity of sailors) they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on the distributions from the public stores. These were at the same time scanty and unwholesome. They did not amount to more per man than a pint of worm eaten wheat, and barley boiled in a common kettle. This wretched food increased the malignity of the diseases generated by a hot, and at that time (the country being entirely uncleared and undrained,) a damp climate, among men exposed from their situation to all its rigours. Before the month of September, 50 of the company, and among them Bartholomew Gosnald, who had originated the expedition, and so much contributed towards its being carried on, were buried.— This scene of distress was heightened by internal dissension. The president was charged with having embezzled the best stores of the colony, and with feasting at his private table with beef and bread, then deemed luxuries of the highest order, while famine and death devoured his fellow adventurers. No crime in the public opinion, could have been more atrocious. In addition to this, he was detected in an attempt to escape from them and their calamities, in the bark which had been left by Newport. The general indignation, could no longer be restrained. He was deposed, and Ratcliffe chosen to succeed him. Misfortune is not unfrequently the parent of moderation and reflection, and this state of misery produced a system of conduct towards the neighbouring Indians which for the moment disarmed their resentment, and induced them to bring in such supplies as the country at that season afforded, and thereby preserved the remnant of the colony. It produced another effect, not less important. Their sense of imminent and common danger, called forth and compelled submission to those talents which were fitted to the exigence, and best calculated to extricate them from the difficulties to which they were surrounded. Captain Smith, who had been imprisoned and expelled from the council by the envy of those who felt and hated his superiority, and who after evincing his innocence, had with difficulty been admitted to the station assigned, preserved his health unimpaired, his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst this general misery and dejection. In him, by common consent, all actual authority was placed, and he, by his own example, soon gave energy and efficiency to others in the execution of his commands.

He immediately erected at Jamestown such rude fortifications as were necessary to resist the sudden attack of the savages, and with great labour, in which he always took the lead, completed the construction of such dwellings as could shelter the people from the weather: contributed to restore and preserve their health while his accommodation gave place to all others. In the season of gathering corn, which with the Indians is a season of plenty, putting himself at the head of small parties, he penetrated into the country, and by presents and caresses to those that were well disposed, and attacking with open force and defeating those who were hostile, he obtained for his countrymen the most abundant supplies. While thus actively and usefully employed abroad, he was not permitted to withdraw his attention from the domestic concerns of the colony. However unfit men may be for command, there are few examples of their descending willingly from exalted stations once filled by them, and it is not wonderful that the late president saw with displeasure, another placed above him.

As unworthy minds most readily devise unworthy means, he sought by intriguing with the factious, and fomenting their discontents, to regain his lost authority; and when their attempts were disconcerted, plans were laid, first by Wingfield and Kendal, and afterwards by the president himself, in conjunction with Martin, the only remaining member of the council, except Smith, to escape in the bark, and thus abandon the country. The vigilance of Smith detected all these machinations, and his vigour defeated them. The hope was now indulged of preserving the colony in quiet and plenty, until supplies could be received from England, with the ships which were expected in the spring. This hope was in a considerable degree defeated, by an event which threatened at first, the most disastrous consequences. In an attempt to explore the head of Chickahominy river, Smith was discovered and attacked by a numerous body of Indians, and in endeavouring to make his escape, after a most gallant defence, his attention being directed to the enemy whom he still fought in retreating, he sunk up to his neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Still, retaining his presence of mind he showed them a mariner's compass, at which, especially at the playing of the needle, and the impossibility of touching it, although they saw it so distinctly, they were greatly astonished; and he amused them with so many surprising stories of its qualities as to inspire them with a degree of veneration which prevented their executing their first design of killing him on the spot. They conducted him in triumph through several towns to the palace of Powhatan, the most potent king in the country. There he was doomed to be put to death, by laying his head upon a log, and beating his

brains out with clubs. He was led to the place of execution, and his head bowed down for the purpose of death, when Pocahontas, the king's daughter, then about thirteen years of age, whose entreaties for his life had been ineffectual, rushed between him and the executioner, and folding his head in her arms, and laying hers upon it, arrested the fatal blow. Her father was then prevailed on to spare his life, and after a great many savage ceremonies, he was sent back to Jamestown. On his arrival thither, having been absent seven weeks, he found the colony reduced to 38 persons, most of whom seemed determined to abandon the country which appeared to them so unfavourable to human life. He was just in time to prevent the execution of this design. Alternately employing persuasions, threats, and even violence, he at length with much hazard to himself induced the majority to relinquish the intentions they had formed, and then turning the guns of the forts on the bark on board which were the most determined, compelled her to remain, or sink in the river. By judicious regulation of their intercourse with the Indians, among whom Smith was now in high repute, he preserved plenty in the colony, until the arrival of two vessels which had been despatched from England under the command of Captain Newport, with a supply of provisions, instruments of husbandry, and with a reinforcement of 120 persons, consisting of many gentlemen, a few labourers, and several refiners, goldsmiths, and jewellers. The joy of the colony on receiving this accession of force and supply of provisions, was extreme. But the influence of Smith disappeared with the danger which had produced it, and an improvident relaxation of discipline, productive of the most pernicious consequences succeeded to it. Among the unwise practices which they tolerated, an indiscriminate traffic with the natives was permitted, in the course of which, some obtained for their commodities much better bargains than others, which inspired those who had been most hardly dealt by, and who thought themselves cheated, with resentment against the English generally, and a consequent thirst for revenge.

About this time was found washed down by a small stream of water, back of Jamestown, a glittering earth, which by the colonists was mistaken for gold dust. All that raging thirst for gold which accompanied the first Europeans who visited the American continent, seemed re-excited by this incident. Mr. Stith, in his history, says, there was nothing thought of but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold. And notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious representations, how absurd it was to neglect all other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a drunken ship with gilded dust, yet was he overruled, and her returns were made with a parcel of

glittering dirt, which is to be found in various parts of the country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be gold dust.

One vessel returned in the spring of 1608, the other the 2d of June, laden one with dust, the other with cedar. This is the first remittance ever made from America by an English colony. The effects of this fatal delusion were such as might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The colony began to suffer the same distress from scarcity of food, which had before brought it to the brink of ruin. The researches of the English settlers had not yet extended beyond the countries adjacent to James river. Smith had formed the bold design of exploring the great bay of Chesapeake, examining the mighty rivers which empty into it, opening an entrance with the nations inhabiting them, and acquiring a knowledge of the state of their cultivation and population. This hardy enterprise, he undertook, accompanied by Doctor Russell, in an open boat of about three tons burthen, and with a crew of 13 men. On the 2d of June, he fell down the river in company with the last of Newport's two vessels, and parted with her at the capes. Beginning his survey at cape Charles, he examined with immense fatigue and danger, every river, inlet, and bay, on both sides the Chesapeake, as far as the mouth of the Rappahannoc, from whence, their provisions being exhausted, he returned to Jamestown. He reached the place on the 21st of July, and found the colony in the utmost confusion and disorder. Those who had arrived last with Newport, were all sick, and general scarcity prevailed, an universal discontent with the president, whom they charged with riotously consuming the stores, and unnecessarily fatiguing the people, with building a house of pleasure for himself, in the woods. The seasonable arrival of Smith, prevented their fury from breaking out in acts of personal violence. Their views were extended and their spirits revived, by the accounts he gave of his discovery. They contented themselves with deposing their president, and Smith was urged, but refused to succeed him.

Having made in three days, arrangements for obtaining regular supplies, and for the government of the colony, his firm friend Mr. Scrivner, was appointed vice president, and on the 14th of July, he again set out, with 12 men, to complete his discoveries.

From this voyage he returned on the 7th of September. He had adventured as far as the river Susquehanna, and visited all the countries on both sides of the bay; he entered most of the large creeks, and sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls.

When we consider that he sailed above 300 miles in an open boat, when we contemplate the dangers and the hardships he

encountered, and the fortitude, courage and patience with which he met them ; when we reflect on the useful and important additions which he made to the stock of knowledge respecting America, then possessed by his countrymen, we shall not hesitate to say that few voyages of discovery, undertaken at any time, reflect more honour on those engaged in them, than this does on Captain Smith. It may not be entirely unworthy of remark, that about the bottom of the bay, Smith went with a party of Indians from St Lawrence, coming to war with those of that neighbourhood ; and that he found among Indians on the Susquehannah, hatchets obtained originally from the French in Canada.

On the 10th of September, immediately after his return from his expedition, he was chosen president by the council, and accepted the office.

Soon after Newport arrived with an additional supply of inhabitants ; among whom were the two first females who had ventured into the country : but he came without provisions. The distinguished, judidious, and vigorous administration of the president, however, supplied their wants, and restrained the turbulent. Encouraged by his example, coerced by his authority, a spirit of industry and subordination appeared to be created in the colony, which was the parent of plenty and peace. In the mean time, the company in England became excessively dissatisfied with their property in America. They had calculated on discovering a passage to the south sea, and mines of the precious metals ; which might afford to individuals the same sudden accumulation of wealth which had been acquired by the Spaniards in the south. In all their hopes they had been greviously disappointed, and had as yet received scarcely any advantage for the heavy expenses they had incurred ; yet hope did not altogether forsake them, and they still indulged in golden dreams of future wealth.

On the 23d of May, 1609, a new charter was granted them. some of the first nobility and gentry of the country, and most of the companies of London, with a numerous body of merchants and tradesmen, were now added to the former adventurers, and they were all incorporated, by the name of the Treasurer and company of adventurers of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia. To them was granted, as their property, the lands extending from cape or point Comfort along the sea coast, 200 miles northward, and from the same point along the sea coast 200 miles southward.

The corporation was authorised to own under its common seal particular portions of these lands to subjects or denizens on such conditions as might promote the intentions of the grant. The powers of the president and council in Virginia were

abrogated, and a new council in England was established and ordained in the charter, with power to the company to fill all vacancies therein by election. This council was empowered to appoint and renew all officers for the colony, and to make all ordinances for its Government, provided they be not contrary to the laws of England. License was given to transport all persons that were willing, and to export merchandize free from custom to Virginia, for seven years. There was also granted for twenty one years, freedom from all subsidies in Virginia, and from all impositions on importations and exportations, from or to any of the king's dominions, except only the five pounds in the hundred due for custom. The company being now enlarged, was enabled to take more efficient measures than heretofore for the settlement of the country; they soon fitted out nine ships with 500 emigrants, and such supplies as were deemed necessary for them. Lord Delawar was constituted governor and captain general for life, and several other high sounding and useless offices were created. The direction of the expedition was again given to Captain Newport, George Somers, and Thomas Gates. Power was severally granted to govern the colony until the arrival of Lord Delawar.

With singular indiscretion, the council omitted to establish precedence among these gentlemen, and being totally unable to settle this point between themselves, they agreed to embark on board of the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage. They were parted from the rest of the fleet in a storm, and driven on Bermudas, having on board 150 men, a considerable portion of the provisions, and the new commission and instructions of the council. The residue of the squadron arrived safe in Virginia. The great part of the new company consisted of unruly sparks packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home; and the rest chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were more ruinous to the commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain it. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the government, and conferred it sometimes, on one and sometimes on another. To day the old commission must rule, to morrow the new, and next day neither. So all was anarchy and distraction. The judgment of Smith was suspended but for a short time. He soon determined that his own authority was not legally revoked until the arrival of the new commission, and therefore resolved to continue its exercise. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoter of the sedition, and thereby restored for a time regularity and obedience. Having effected this, he detached 100 persons to the falls of James river, under the conduct of West, and the same num-

ber to Nansemond, under the command of Martin. These settlements were conducted with so little judgment, that they soon converted all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, had several parties cut off, and found themselves in need of the support and direction of Smith. These were always afforded until a melancholy accident deprived the colony of the aid of a man, whose talents had more than once rescued it from that desperate condition into which folly and vice had plunged it. Returning from the company at the falls of James river, his powder bag, while he was asleep in the boat, took fire ; he was wounded so as to be confined to his bed. Being thus wounded, and unable to obtain the aid of a surgeon in the colony, he determined to return to England, for which place he embarked about the beginning of October. At his departure, the colony consisted of about 500 inhabitants ; they were furnished with three ships, 7 boats, 10 weeks' provisions in the public store, 6 mares and a horse, a large stock of hogs and poultry, with some sheep and goats ; utensils for agriculture, nets for fishing ; 100 trained and expert soldiers, well acquainted with the Indians, their language and habitations : 24 pieces of ordnance, and three hundred muskets, with a sufficient quantity of other arms and ammunition. The present fair prospect was soon blasted. The Indians understood that the man whose conduct and vigour they had so often experienced, and so much dreaded, no longer remained in the country ; they fell upon them. Captains West and Martin having lost their boats, and nearly half of their men, were driven back to Jamestown ; the stock of provisions was lavishly wasted, and a famine, the most dreadful with which they had ever been afflicted, raged among them. After devouring the skins of their horses, and the Indians they had killed, the survivors fed on those of their companions who had sunk under such accumulated calamities. This period was long remembered by the name of the *Starving Time*. In six months, the colony was reduced to 60 persons ; who were so feeble and dejected, that they could not survive ten days longer. In this calamitous state, they were relieved by Thomas Gates, George Somers, and Captain Newport, who arrived from Bermuda, 24th of May, 1610. It was immediately determined to abandon the country ; and for this purpose the wretched remnant of the colony embarked on board the vessel just arrived from Bermuda, and set sail for England. None dropped a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness. But they met Lord Delawar in the river, with 3 ships, and a recruit of new settlers and persons from England, who prevailed on them to return ; and on the 10th of June, re-settled them at Jamestown.

On the 10th of May, 1611, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed to the government, arrived with fresh supplies of men and provisions, and found the colony relapsing into its former state of idleness and penury. It required all the authority of the new governor to maintain public order, and to compel the idle and the dissolute to labour. Some conspiracies having been detected he proclaimed martial law, and instantly executed it, by punishing the most guilty. These severities, which in the ordinary state of society would not and ought not to have been submitted to, were then deemed necessary, and are spoken of as having probably saved the settlement. In the beginning of August, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been appointed to succeed Thomas Dale, arrived with six ships, and a considerable supply of men and provisions. The colony being now greatly strengthened, began to extend itself up the James river, and several new settlements were made. In March 1612, a new charter was issued, granting to the treasurer and company all the islands situate in the ocean, within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia.

It was ordained that four general courts of adventurers should be holden annually, for the determination of affairs of importance, and weekly meetings were appointed for the transaction of common business.

To promote the settlement, which had already cost such considerable sums, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England. These lotteries, which were the first ever drawn in England, brought twenty nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company. Captain Argal arrived from England, with two vessels, and was sent round to the Potomac, for a cargo of corn. Here he understood that Pocahontas, who had saved the life of Smith, and ever had been steadfast in her attachments to the English, having absented herself from her father's house, now lay concealed. By bribing some of those in whom she had confided, Captain Argal prevailed on her to come on board his vessel, where she was detained respectfully, and brought to Jamestown. His motive was the hope that the possession of Pocahontas would give the English an ascendancy over her father, Powhatan. In this, however he was disappointed. Powhatan offered corn and friendship, if they would first restore his daughter, but would come to no terms until reparation was made for what he resented, as an act of unhandsome treachery. During her detention at Jamestown, she made an impression on the heart of Mr. Rolfe, a young gentleman of estimation in the colony who also succeeded in gaining her affections. They were married, with the consent of Powhatan, who ever after continued to be a sincere friend to the English. This led to a treaty with the Chiccahominies a brave and powerful tribe, who submitted

to the English, and became their tributaries. In 1613, Sir Thomas Dale divided a considerable portion of the lands into lots of three acres each, and granted one of these to each individual in full propriety. Although they were still required to devote a great portion of their labour to the public, yet a sudden change was made in the appearance and habits of the colony. Industry advanced with rapid strides, and the colonists were no more fearful of wanting bread, either for themselves or the emigrants who came annually from England. Early in the year 1614, Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, leaving the government again with Sir Thomas Dale. In 1615, fifty acres of land were alloted to each individual, which was actually laid off and delivered to the persons having titles to them, who were permitted to exercise over them, in such a manner as was agreeable themselves, all the rights of ownership. About the same time tobacco was first cultivated in Virginia.

This plant was detested by the king, who used all his influence to prevent its use. He even wrote a pamphlet against it which he styled the counter blast. It was discountenanced by the leading members of parliament, and also by the company, who issued edicts against its cultivation. And although on a first experiment it was unpleasent in its taste, and disagreeable in its effects, it surmounted all difficulties, and has, by an unaccountable caprice, been brought into general use, and become one of the most considerable staples of America.

In the spring of 1616, Sir Thomas Dale sailed for England, having placed the government in the hands of George Yeardly, his deputy, who after a very lax administration of one year, was succeeded, in May 1617, by Captain Argal, who had been appointed deputy governor by the company. He was a man of great talents and energy of mind, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. He provided with ability, for the wants of the colony. Martial law was continued during a season of peace, and Mr. Brewster, who was tried under this arbitrary system for contemptuous words spoken against the governor, was sentenced to suffer death. A respite of execution was with difficulty obtained, and on an appeal to the council in England, the sentence was reversed. While martial law was, according to Stith, the common law of the land, the deputy governor seems to have been the sole legislator. His edicts mark the severity of his rule, but some of them evince an attention to the public safety. He ordered that merchandise should be sold at the advance price of 25 per cent, and tobacco taken in payment at the rate of three shillings per pound, under the penalty of three year's servitude to the company ; that no person should traffic with the Indians, or teach them the use of fire arms, under pain of death ; that no person should hunt deer or hogs without leave

from the governor; that no person should shoot, unless in his own defence, until a new supply of ammunition arrived, on pain of a year's personal service; that no one should go on board the ships without the governor's leave; that every person should go to church on Sundays, under the penalty of slavery during that present week, for the first offence; a month for the second, and a year for the third. The rigour of this administration necessarily excited much discontent, and the complaints of the Virginians at length made their way to the company. Lord Delawar, being now dead, Mr. Yeardly was appointed captain general, with instructions to examine with attention the wants of the people, and to redress them.

The new governor arrived in April, 1619, and soon after, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intentions to convoke a colonial assembly. This is an important era in the history of Virginia. Heretofore, all legislative authority had been exercised, either by the corporation in England, or by their officers in this country. The people, either personally or by their representatives, had no voice in the government of themselves, and their most important concerns were decided by persons unacquainted with their situation, and always possessing interests different from theirs. This first assembly met at Jamestown, on the 19th of June, 1619. The colony was not then divided into counties, and the members were elected by the different boroughs, amounting to seven in number. The assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and burgesses, met together in one apartment, and there debated all matters thought conducive to the general welfare. The laws then enacted, which it is believed are no longer extant, were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and were said to have been judiciously formed. The emigrations from England continued to be very considerable, and were made at great expense to the company; but as yet few females had ever crossed the Atlantic. Men without wives could not contemplate Virginia as a place of permanent residence, and proposed, after amassing some wealth, to return to their native land. To put an end to a mode of thinking in its effects so ruinous to the colony, it was proposed to send out 100 maids as wives for the colony. 90 young girls were transported in the beginning of the year 1620, and 60 more in the subsequent year. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters. The price of a wife was estimated first at one hundred and afterwards, at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco: then selling at three shillings per pound: and a debt so contracted, was made of greater dignity, than any other. The education of the children was likewise attended to, and several steps were taken towards founding a college, afterwards com-

pletely established by William and Mary. About the same time, the company received orders from the king to transport to Virginia 100 idle and dissolute persons then in custody of the Knight Marshal. These men, dispersed through the colony, became a useful and acceptable addition of labourers, and were the first convicts transported to America.

CHAPTER III.

From the embarkation of the Plymouth Company, to the close of the Pequot War.

We have seen with what slow and difficult steps, the first, or southern colony, although supported by individuals of great wealth and influence in the nation, advanced to a firm and secure establishment. Let us now employ our attention in viewing the establishment of the Plymouth Company. King James first granted Letters Patent to this company, in 1606, to possess all the lands in America, lying between 34 and 45 degrees of North latitude. They applied for leave to go under the royal sanction, but were refused. At length they obtained permission from the Virginia company to make a settlement near the mouth of Hudson river. It was resolved that part of the congregation should remove first, and the remaining part with their pastor after the new settlement had commenced. This produced a scene at parting, not to be described. They took their leave of one another, which proved to be their last leave, with many of them. They sailed from Holland to Southampton, in England, where they met the other ships, and their friends who were to accompany them from England in July 1620.

On the fifth of August they sailed from Southampton, but on account of bad weather and the leakiness of one of their vessels, they were obliged twice to put back. The poorer vessel they were compelled to leave, while as many as could be accommodated, one hundred and one persons of the adventurers, entered on board the other ship, and took their last leave of the land of their fathers, on the sixth of September. Called to go out into a place which they should after receive for an inheritance, they obeyed; and they went out, not knowing whither they went.

After a tedious voyage, safely housed in the ark which God in his providence had directed them to prepare, protected by him who directs the storm, on the tenth of November, they arrived at Cape Cod. The Dutch, intending to keep possession of Hudson's River, had bribed the ship master to carry these adventurers so far northward, that they should not find their intended place of residence. They had found land, and it was too late in the season to put to sea again; they were in good harbour but on a most barren and inhospitable shore.

On their arrival, they stepped upon the strand, and with bended knees gave thanks to God who had preserved his church in the ark, who had preserved their number entire, and brought them in safety to these unhallowed shores. Being without the limits of their patent, as to civil government, they were in a state of nature. They therefore procured and signed a civil compact, by which they severally bound themselves to be obedient to all ordinances made by the body, acknowledging the King of Great Britain to be their lawful sovereign. They say in the preamble, "Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christain Faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents," &c. This instrument was executed on board their ship on the eleventh of November. Mr. John Carver, a man of distinguished abilities and eminent piety, was chosen their governor.

The prospects now before them were such as to appal any other than our fathers. In a most howling wilderness, inhabited by pagan savages and wild beasts, a dreary winter approaching, no shelter from the tempest, and, as yet, no place of abode. They had one resting place, and that was all. Their trust was in him who hath said to his chosen, *The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms; and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee, andshall say, destroy them.*

After several unsuccessful attempts to find a convenient place for their residence, a party sent out for discovery, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In a severe storm on a December night, having with their little barque, narrowly escaped a shipwreck, they were cast upon an island in the harbor. This was on Friday night. The next day they dried their clothes, concluding to remain on this little island, till after the Sabbath. This little band, about twenty in number, observed the next day as a Sabbath, which was the first Sabbath ever observed in a religious manner, on the New-England shore. Having examined the harbor, they returned to the ship, which weighed anchor and brought in their consecrated cargo in safety. Here these pious pilgrims landed on the twenty-second of December, 1620. They called the place Plymouth, the name of the

town from which they last sailed in England. They now had a country and a home, but they had a better country on high.

They had now to contend with the inclement seasons, with innumerable privations, in a constant fear of a savage foe. But God had prepared their way before them. A desolating plague, which prevailed among the natives about three years before, had nearly depopulated those parts of the country. On this account, they received very little molestation from the savages for many years. Had they been carried to Hudson's River, according, to their intention, where the savages were numerous, there is much reason to believe the little colony would have been cut off. Infinite wisdom directed their course to their prepared habitation. We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and planted them.

The severities of the season, their unwholesome food, and their incessant labours, brought upon this little flock a general and very mortal sickness, so that forty-six of their number died before the opening of the ensuing spring. Of those who survived the most had been severely sick. Who can contemplate this little band, in an uncultivated wilderness, with no promise of support from their mother country, exposed to the inclement skies of a dreary winter, with scanty supplies of food, utterly unskilled and destitute of the means for the cultivation of a new country, with no security for future harvests ; surrounded with a savage enemy whose seats and prowess they could not know ; visited with a raging disease, committing, at times, two or three in a day to the grave ; of the living scarcely enough who had strength to perform the rites of sepulture ;—without despondency, firmly determined to abide the just appointments of Heaven, and not admire a virtue which the religion of the Lord Jesus alone can furnish, and a patriotism to which the canonized heroes of Rome could never attain. Had their object been to obtain a property, for themselves and for their posterity, or to obtain a name among the heroes of enterprize, they had sunk under their sufferings. Their souls were strengthened with other prospects. They confided in the wisdom of Heaven ; they firmly believed that the Most High would here plant and maintain his church ; that he would make the American wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Buoyed up by faith, strengthened by the promises, obstacles vanished before them. They knew God had often led his church into the wilderness, but he had never forsaken her. He raised up the righteous man from the east, brought him to a strange country, the Canaanite was then in the land, but he gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.

On the fifth of April after their arrival, the Plymouth Company were called to mourn the loss of their excellent governor, and a deacon of the church, Mr. Carver. Mr. Bradford, a gentleman of distinguished worth, was chosen to succeed him, and excepting four years, he was annually elected to the office till his death, in 1657. A little before the death of Mr. Carver, the Indian Sachem, Massasoit, came into Plymouth in a friendly manner, and entered into a treaty of friendship with the Colony, which he observed inviolably till his death. He was father of the famous Sachem, King Philip.

After the first desolating sickness, the people of Plymouth were, generally, very healthy, and the most of the first planters who survived that epidemic, lived to old age. Their privations, however, and their sufferings, inseparable from the circumstances of their situation, were great in the extreme. Their property was, principally, held in common stock for the support of the whole. And the wants of the few first years, consumed the most of their store. Through fear of the natives, having received some threatening intimations from some of the tribes, they were necessitated to erect a fort, to empale their whole village, and to keep a constant guard.—In their excursions to find a proper place for settlement, while their ship lay at the Cape, they found about ten bushels of Indian corn which had been buried, for which they afterwards paid the owners, which helped to preserve their lives the first winter, and afford them seed for planting in the ensuing spring. Some friendly Indians taught them the manner of raising their corn, but their crop was very unequal to their necessities. Mr. Hutchinson is of opinion that no English grain was raised in the colony previous to the year 1633; when a few ears of rye were produced. The first domestic cattle were brought to the colony in 1624; previous to which, they had none for milk or labour. The most credible historians affirm that these pilgrims subsisted in repeated instances, for days and weeks together without bread, feeding upon the wild nuts of the woods, and shell-fish. Their difficulties for clothing were equally great. Some of the ancient writers intimate, that the great mortality in the first winter appears to have been the means, under a wise Providence, of preserving the colony from perishing by famine.

The second summer after their arrival, the settlement was threatened with a famine by a severe drought. From the third week in May to the middle of July, there was no rain. Their corn, for which they had made their utmost exertions, withered under the heat of a scorching sun, the greater part of it appeared irrecoverably lost. The Indians, seeing their prospects, observed they would soon be subdued by famine, when

they should find them an easy prey. A public Fast was appointed and observed with great solemnity. The morning and most of the day was clear and hot, but, towards evening, the clouds collected, and like the gracious influences of God, the rain descended in moderate, yet copious showers. This revived their expiring crop, and produced a plentiful harvest. After which they observed a day of public Thanksgiving. I believe this to be the origin of our annual Thanksgivings. This event made an astonishing impression on the minds of the Natives, who saw and acknowledged that the God of Christians was great, and good, and a hearer of prayer.*

In the autumn of 1621, the plantation received an accession of settlers, of about thirty-five, of their friends from Holland.—In the year 1625, their venerable and beloved Psstor, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, died at Leyden, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was thus prevented from ever seeing his much loved American church. After his death, the most of his congregation came over to Plymouth.

The Planters who first came to Plymouth were accompanied by Mr. William Brewster, a Ruling Elder in the church, who supplied, in a good degree, the absence of their Pastor. He was a man of abilities and learning, having been liberally educated at the University of Cambridge, and of great piety. Being an able and useful preacher, he served the congregation in that capacity the greater part of the time till his death, about twenty-three years after the first settlement. The congregation, however, enjoyed the labours of other ministers during this period.

This little colony continued for many years in harmony, and were, perhaps, as eminent as any people which have appeared in modern time, for continning stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.

LIFE OF REV. JOHN ROBINSON.

That we may be enabled to form a correct opinion of the venerable founders of the New-England Colonies, it is necessary for us to have a more distinct view of those individuals, whose virtues and services rendered them conspicuous, than can be taken from a general history of events. Though sensible that the task is arduous, and the subject worthy of the labours of the ablest Biographer; under the persuasion that some account of the characters of those great and good men, whom we love to denominate our forefathers, will be acceptable to my readers, the work will be attempted.

*See Morton, and others.

Of the early settlements of New-England, the Colony of Plymouth, the first in standing, led the way in the establishment of the most important civil and religious institutions.—The fathers of that colony, therefore, for their zeal and indefatigable labours, will always be held in the most grateful remembrance; while their practical wisdom and rational piety can never cease to be revered. The eminent characters of that colony, may, very justly, be the subject of our first attention.

The most distinguished person of that extraordinary company, who made the settlement of Plymouth, and commenced the first colony which in its early state had the appearance of permanency, within the present limits of the United States, was their venerable minister, the Rev. John Robinson. Through the interesting vicissitudes of about twenty years, he was their leader, their shield, and the only common bond which gave a unity to all their pursuits.

Mr. Robinson was born in the east of England, about the year 1575. Possessed of a strong and discriminating mind, under the advantages of a liberal education, he made an early and distinguished progress in those branches of science which were the principal subjects of learning in that day. Having been early inducted into the work of the gospel ministry, he applied with great diligence to the study of the Scriptures, and to the constitution and character of the national church. Of that church he was a member, having received episcopal ordination, and was settled over a small congregation near Yarmouth. He entered upon the work of the ministry about the time when the debates between the advocates of high episcopacy and the Puritans, managed by those able champions Whitgift and Cartwright, were carried on with the utmost vigour. The minds of all men were affected with those discussions, and such as were of an inquisitive turn, necessarily examined the subjects which so greatly agitated the nation. From a careful attention to the existing order of the religious establishment, Mr. Robinson became convinced that many of the ordinances and ceremonies of the church were unsupported by divine precept, and inconsistent with the word of God. Finding that rites of human invention were maintained and enforced with as much pertinacity as any of the express precepts or ordinances of Christ, that he was denied the privilege of conscientious omission of forms and ceremonies confessedly unessential, Mr. Robinson determined, at the hazard of all temporal good, to separate from the established church.

About the year 1580, a sect of violent separatists arose in England, the principal leader of whom, was Robert Brown, from whom the sect was denominated Brownists. These ab-

solutely disowned the Church of England as a church of Christ, and held it to be unlawful to hold any communion with that church. Mr. Robinson, on a discovery of the numerous factitious rites which are imposed by the church, of arbitrary measures and high usurpations of the hierarchy, fell into the same mistaken sentiments, and connected himself with the Brownists. The sentiments which he embraced and publicly maintained, were generally adopted by his congregation. Enlightened by his luminous mind, allured by his ardent piety, attached by his unfeigned worth, the congregation ever adhered to their faithful, beloved pastor. Mr. Robinson published some small tracts in vindication of the lawfulness of separation, and in opposition to many of the ordinances of the ecclesiastical establishment. Many of the Brownists, unable to endure the persecuting zeal of Archbishop Whitgift and his successor Bancroft, fled to Holland and set up several churches. Those churches enjoyed the labours of several excellent divines, whose names are still eminent in the departments of divinity and science.

Mr. Robinson and his people made many efforts to enjoy and perform the pure worship and ordinances of the gospel, in a private manner, without giving offence to those who sought to enforce a general uniformity. But the zeal of the ecclesiastical courts, and the vigilance of the pursuivants rendering this impracticable, they were compelled to look for an asylum in foreign countries. The removal of Mr. Robinson and his congregation to Amsterdam, in the year 1607; and in the year following, to Leyden, has been particularly described.

Mr. Robinson was a man of an independent mind, who made truth and duty his great objects of pursuit, and was not to be governed by the prejudices of a sect. On a more near acquaintance with the principles and practices of the Brownists than he could obtain in his native country, aided by the light of the holy Scriptures and an intercourse with some eminent Puritan divines, he became sensible of the unreasonable bigotry and many errors of the Brownists, and undertook to effect a reformation in their sentiments and churches. In this important undertaking, he was eminently successful. Many of the Brownists gradually came into his sentiments, and, that they might be distinguished from those who tenaciously adhered to the sentiments of Brown, and went even greater lengths in error, they were distinguished by the name of *Independents*.—The leading principles on which Mr. Robinson's church in Leyden was established, was these :—They acknowledged the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England to contain the essential doctrines of the gospel; they held that, that was a true church of Christ, and, as such, to be venerated and esteemed; that every individual church had received authority from Christ

to enjoy all the privileges, to exercise all the rights, which he has appointed for his visible people; and that such a church is not amenable to any external or superior ecclesiastical authority. They held a cordial communion with the reformed churches of Holland, with the churches of Geneva, with the French Protestants who were regulated by the Walloon confession, and with the most of the reformed churches, they agreed in the essential principles of doctrine and practice. They held it lawful to unite with the church of England in christian intercourse and divine worship, but not to commune with them in their then existing state, in sealing ordinances. This statement is made from a confession of faith and a general account of that first Independent church, drawn by Mr. Robinson, with great ability and learning, and published at Leyden in Latin, in the year 1619. It is entitled *An Apology for the English exiles who are vulgarly called Brownists.* In this confession it is stated, "We hold the Reformed Churches to be true and genuine, we profess communion with them in the sacraments of God, and, as far as we are able, cultivate their fellowship."—Dr. Mosheim observes, "Instead of differing from all other christian societies, it may rather be said of the Independents, that they were perfectly agreed with by far the greatest part of the reformed churches." The religious sentiments, in doctrine and practice, which were received by Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, under the instruction of that great man, and afterwards brought to America, were remarkably coincident with those which have been so ably vindicated by Dr. Hopkins in his incomparable System; a work which will be admired in the latest periods of the church, notwithstanding the censures it now receives from many by whom it was never read. The sentiments of Mr. Robinson which have been mentioned, which were adopted by his people, afford a satisfactory reason for an extraordinary remark of that acute historian, Mr. Hume. He says, of the Independents, "Of all Christian sects this was the first, which during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration."

At the time that Mr. Robinson removed to Leyden, the celebrated Arminius was professor of divinity in the eminent university of that city, and publicly inculcated his peculiar religious sentiments. After his death in 1609, he was succeeded in the divinity chair by Episcopius, who maintained the religious sentiments of his predecessor with great ability and learning. An occurrence during his professorate, deserves a particular mention in this place. It is related in an historical tract of Governor Bradford. "Episcopius, the Armenian professor, put forth his best strength and set forth sundry theses, which by public dispute he would defend against all men.—

Now, Poliander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loth, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him and told him that such was the abilities and nimbleness of the adversary that the truth would suffer if he did not help them; so that he condescended, and prepared himself against the time, and when the day came, the Lord did so help to defend the truth and foil his adversary as he put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience, and so he did a second and a third time upon such like occasions, which procured him much honour and respect."

Mr. Robinson appears to have had no less influence with his people in the regulation of their moral conduct, than in the direction of their religious sentiments. A little previous to their removal to America, the Magistrates of the city of Leyden, in a public address to the members of the French church in that city, observe, "These English have lived among us these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual."

The plan of a removal to America, projected by the congregation at Leyden, met with the cordial approbation of their revered Pastor. He considered the reasons for a removal sufficient, and resolved to accompany his beloved flock to the western wilderness. After attending to the nature of the necessary preparations, it was found that the whole company could not remove at one time, and it was agreed that the Pastor should attend the greater number. At the time of the first emigration, the greater number remained in Holland, with whom Mr. Robinson continued. He remained, however, in the full expectation of removing with the residue of his people, to America. This confident expectation was never relinquished till his death.

When the first emigrants were prepared for their embarkation, the congregation observed, with great solemnity, a day of fasting and prayer. After preaching from Ezra viii. 21. Mr. Robinson addressed the adventurers in the following manner:

"Brethren,

"We are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, the Lord has

more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God, but were they now living would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received. I beseech you remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithall exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth, examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist; it is a mere nick-name, and a brand for the making religion, and the professor of it, odious to the christian world.* Unto this end, I should be extremely glad, if some godly minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any company. For there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the Kingdom. And I would wish you, by all means, to close with the godly people of England; study union with them in all things, wherein you can have it without sin, rather than in the least measure to affect a division or separation from them.—Neither would I have you loth to take another Pastor beside myself; inasmuch as a flock that hath two Shepherds, is not thereby endangered, but secured." This judicious address was closed with a most affectionate farewell.

The company who were to sail for America, being composed of the younger part of the congregation, Mr. Robinson and their elder brethren accompanied them to Delfthaven, where

*Had Judge Marshall been favoured with sufficient time for the compilation of his History, he would not have stated that the first settlers of Plymouth were Brownists.

they embarked, July 2d, 1620. Having spent the preceding night in Christian converse and social worship, in the morning, after exchanging the endearments of a mutual affection, which nothing less than common sufferings in a strange land could have produced, the beloved Pastor kneeled down on the sea-shore, and, with a fervent prayer, committed the adventurers to the care and mercy of heaven. The pilgrims stepped on board, he gave them his blessing,—that voice to which they had always listened with delight, they were not to hear again, till they hear it in the heavenly praises of redeeming love.

The emigrants were to make some stay in England, before their final departure for the western continent. After they had sailed from Holland, Mr. Robinson wrote and sent to them a most affectionate and judicious pastoral letter, which was preserved by them with the tenderest remembrance, and was of great benefit to them through the residue of their lives. In this, he counselled them, above all things else to make their peace with God and their own consciences, by a sincere repentance of all sin, and a life of faithful obedience to the divine commands. As the next most important duty, he exhorted them to live in peace with one another. To be very cautious of giving offence, and equally cautious of indulging an irritable temper, whereby they would be liable to take offence from others. He observes, "In my own experience, few or none have been found that sooner give offence, than those that easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members of society, who have nourished this touchy humour." He warns them, with great earnestness, against the indulgence of a private selfish spirit, whereby any one should be seeking, exclusively, his own personal interest. He reminds them that they are the house of God, and cautions them not to be shaken with unprofitable novelties and innovations.

For a few succeeding years, Mr. Robinson continued with the part of his congregation remaining in Holland, enjoying the utmost confidence of his own people, and rising continually in the esteem and affection of all to whom he was known. In 1621, and 1623, small companies of emigrants removed from the congregation to join their friends in Plymouth. So many obstacles were thrown in the way of the emigration of the principal part of the company, by the Plymouth company in England, who liked not the religious sentiments of the Puritans, that their removal, the object of their earnest and constant hope, was delayed from year to year.

In the year 1625, the providence of God cast a sudden gloom upon all their prospects, by removing their beloved pastor to his eternal rest. This event, which threw the company in both continents into the deepest mourning, was communicated to

Plymouth in a letter from Leyden, of which the folllowing is an extract; "It has pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving pastor, Mr. Robinson. He fell sick, Saturday morning, Feb. 22d, next day taught us twice, on the week grew weaker every day, feeling little or no sensible pain to the last. Departed this life the first of March. Had a continual ague. All his friends came freely to him. And if prayers, tears or means could have saved his life, he had not gone hence. We will still hold close in peace, wishing that you and we were together." He died in the fiftieth year of his age.

Mr. Robinson was a man of great dignity of manners, of a very grave deportment, and possessed in an eminent degree, that solemn piety which was characteristic of the distinguished Puritans of his time. He had a singular talent at securing the affections and commanding the minds of men. Very few of his friends or followers ever forsook him, for every additional knowledge of his character increased their attachment and confidence. Such was his acquaintance with the human character and such his knowledge of truth, that he seldom failed of the accomplishment of his purposes. He possessed the rarest talent in polemical writers, a candour of mind, which always bowed to the force of truth. Sensible of his own imperfections, he believed that much additional light respecting divine truth remained in the sacred volume, to be sought out hereafter, by those that fear the Lord. I apprehend that the history of the church furnishes not another instance in which the founder of an extensive religious denomination has delivered such sentiments as we have in Mr. Robinson's farewell address to the emigrants for America. He requires them not to make his opinion their standard, but to be always ready to receive the truth which God in mercy should lay before them. And expresses his confidence that much remains to be exhibited.

A certain Mr. Jacob, an English divine, compelled like many others to leave his own country, after residing several years in Holland, fully imbibed the sentiments of Mr. Robinson, returned to England in 1616, and established the first independent church in that country. In a few years they increased to a great number. The venerable Synod who composed the Savoy confession in 1658, which has since been acknowledged by conventions of the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut, were Independents.

An English historian, who was a great enemy to all Nonconformists, observes, "Mr. Robinson was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the church of England." The apologies he

wrote were very handsome. By his connexion with Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker, he was brought to a greater moderation than he at first expressed. He ruined the rigid separation by allowing the lawfulness of communing with the church of England in the word and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline.*

Such was the man, who under God, laid the foundation of the eldest church in the United States.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR CARVER.

The first governor of the colony of Plymouth, was Mr. John Carver. During the period of the residence of Mr. Robinson and his congregation at Leyden, Mr. Carver was much distinguished for his talents and piety; and for his activity, zeal, and fidelity in the service of the company. In early life, his heart was, apparently, sanctified by the grace of God, which was evinced by a life faithfully devoted to the service of the Redeemer. He possessed a grave rather than an ardent temper yet he deliberately embraced the religious sentiments of the Puritans, and resolved to submit to the privations of worldly good, rather than neglect or abuse the religion of a divine Saviour, by being subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men. He rejoiced in the privileges of a British subject, and remembered with humble gratitude the great things which God had done for his church in his native land, in delivering it from the bondage of papal superstition and tyranny.—Yet perceiving that the national church, pertinaciously retained errors, after they had been most clearly pointed out by affectionate and faithful friends; that it persisted in enforcing, by penal sanctions, rites of human prescription, unwarranted, if not inconsistent with the gospel of Christ; that it would allow

*Dr. Ames, here mentioned, was the celebrated Professor at the University of Franquer, and author of the Medulla Theologiæ. He was one that fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and wund an honourable asylum in Holland. His friendship was of foeat advantage to Mr. Robinson, as he helped to convince him of gre errors of the Brownists, and afforded him much assistance in esthblishing the order of the Leyden church. He intended to have retaoved to America, but was prevented by death, which took place in 1633. His widow and children removed to New-England, and brought his library, which was of great value. He possessed a very acute mind and an extensive learning, and was one of the ablest ministers of his time in opposition to the sentiments of the Arminians. A lineal descendant from him, was that great ornament of our country, the late Fisher Ames.

no indulgence to those who begged an exemption from those burdensome services, while they would accord with all essential ordinances; he felt himself called, in the Providence of God, to bear a temperate testimony against such impositions, and to exercise those rights which Christ has given to all his people. Mindful of the high precept, Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage; and knowing that no human authority was paramount; believing that many of the ordinances to which his obedience was required were an abridgement of this liberty, he felt authorized and bound to follow Christ alone. Thus he became one of the pillars, one of the most able and faithful supporters of Mr. Robinson's church.

Mr. Carver was a deacon of the church in Leyden, and retained the office after his removal to America. As an officer in the church, by his clear understanding, his sound judgment, his exemplary character, he possessed much influence, and was eminently useful in the performance of his many important duties. When we contemplate this little church standing alone in the christian world, with no friends or sister churches for its support, without the enjoyment of any ecclesiastical constitution, without any ancient and established usages for their regulation, the passions of individuals highly excited by oppression; while we adore the merciful care of the great head of the church, in preserving them from ruin, we cannot but admire the wisdom, the prudence, the moderation, of the officers and influential members, by whose instrumentality they were thus preserved, and led to such an eminent purity of gospel order. The experience of two centuries has discovered no material defects in the system which they established. And no churches in the christian world, according to their number, have, more eminently, enjoyed the divine blessing, than those which have been regulated according to their model.

When the congregation at Leyden had become generally disposed to a removal from Holland, Mr. Carver and Mr. Cushman were deputed to make application to the Virginia company in England, for some lands within their Patent, for the establishment of a colony. On account of the many prejudices existing in England against this congregation, their first application was unsuccessful. The year following, 1619, they obtained the grant. Mr. Carver, for his education, his discretion, his gravity of manners, and his activity in the business of the emigration, was looked upon by the adventurers as the proper person for their chief magistrate, before their departure from Holland.

The emigrants arrived in the harbor of Cape Cod, November 9th, 1620. A political compact, which was their civil constitu-

tion for many years, was soon formed, and on the eleventh of that month, was signed by forty-one persons, all the males who were of age. Mr. Carver is the first signer, and immediately after was unanimously chosen Governor. No other magistrate was appointed. In the perils and distresses of the succeeding winter, all that could be done by the benevolent man, by the illustrious patriot, by the exemplary christian, was performed by Mr. Carver, to support the settlers under their accumulated sufferings, to preserve them from despondency, to provide every practical relief, and to preserve the colony from ruin. He cheerfully submitted to an equal share of privation and labour, afforded every possible assistance to the sick, counselled the dying, and comforted the mournful survivors ; his serene countenance inspired confidence in every beholder, his humble submission directed all souls to God. During the most of the period of the raging sickness, in which one half of the whole number died, Gov. Carver enjoyed good health, and was able to discharge the important duties devolving upon him.

The Governor having been informed that Massasoit, a powerful Indian Sachem, not far distant from the plantation, was amicably disposed towards the settlement, sent him a message, inviting him to an interview at Plymouth. He accordingly came with great state, attended by a numerous train, and on the 22d of March, halted at the entrance of the town. The Governor, attended by a file of armed men, advanced to meet the royal savage, and after much ceremony, they proceeded to a friendly interview. The colony, very providentially, were provided with an Indian interpreter. After partaking of an entertainment provided for that purpose, "they entered into a perpetual league of friendship, commerce, and mutual defence." The natives manifested the highest satisfaction at the scene. It was an event of uncommon interest, as the existence of the colony depended on the issue. This treaty was maintained inviolably by Massosoit till his death ; and was the foundation of that peculiar harmony which long subsisted between the Plymouth Colony and the natives.

The negotiation of this important treaty was the last public service performed by their worthy Governor. On the fifth of April, 1621, after a short illness, a mysterious providence removed him from the afflicted colony, whose cup of sorrows now was full—removed him to the rest which remaineth for the people of God. Notwithstanding the low state of the colony, they gave their lamented Governor all the funeral honors which were in their power to bestow : the men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave.

Mr. Carver was a man of singular piety, of great fortitude and public spirit ; grave in his manners, yet open, condescend-

ing, and affectionate. He possessed a good estate, the greater part of which was spent in the service of the colony. As a magistrate, he was firm, upright, and watchful; as a christian, humble and exemplary. By his virtues, he was endeared to all his acquaintance, but especially, to the infant colony of which he was a most distinguished ornament and support. By the removal of such pillars, God taught our venerable fathers that his Almighty arm, and that alone, must "sustain the children of his love."

Mr. Carver's wife, who was distinguished for her piety, overcome with grief, died about six weeks after her husband.—His posterity have been numerous and respectable in the Plymouth colony, and distinguished for health and longevity. One of the towns in the county of Plymouth, now bears his name.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

The infant colony of Plymouth, after the decease of their first Governor, the worthy Mr. Carver, in the spring of the year 1621, unanimously elected Mr. William Bradford to be their chief magistrate. The reflection often occurs, to every attentive reader of history, that God, in his infinite wisdom, always provides illustrious characters, endued with all requisite qualifications, for the performance of the extraordinary services, which, in his holy providence, he designs to accomplish. This thought is forcibly illustrated in the characters of Julius Cæsar, Columbus, Luther, Washington, as well as in most of the eminent actors in human affairs. In the character of the man whose life is now to be given, though his sphere of action was less extensive than that of most of the heroes of history, we discover, no less clearly, the special operations of Divine Providence, in providing those peculiar qualifications which were necessary to the discharge of the important duties which he was called to perform. And as every mind enlightened with revealed truth, will contemplate all human characters as acting in connexion with the interests of the church of God, many of the fathers of New England will be considered as occupying more important places, than many of the long-laboured subjects of historic eulogy. The conquerors of the world have aided the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom by destroying its enemies; but its humble, faithful friends, have ever stood as pillars in the temple of God.

Mr. Bradford may be said to have been the most eminent instrument in divine Providence, of establishing and preserving the first colony of New-England, and the first church of the United States. He was a native of Yorkshire in England, born in the year 1588. In that part of England, the people were at

that time, exceedingly destitute of religious instruction, and the Scriptures were scarcely known among them. Just emerging from the darkness of Romish imposture, the practical effects of the reformation had scarcely begun to appear. Mr. Bradford descended from a respectable ancestry, who had long been employed in the business of husbandry. He enjoyed a competent inheritance from his parents, which, in consequence of their death, fell to him in his childhood. The care of his education devolved upon his grand-parents; and after their death, upon his uncles. At an early age, a long and severe sickness had the effect of turning his mind to the truths of religion. At the age of twelve years, by a divine blessing on careful reading of the Scriptures, his mind became deeply impressed with the reality of divine things, and, under the faithful ministry of the pious Mr. Clifton, he became, apparently, a subject of divine grace. At this time, he formed a connexion with a number of pious people who were called Professors. These were Puritans, who found the ordinary forms of the religious establishment unsatisfying to an ardent piety, who held private meetings for religious worship, and improvement, but were the subjects of strong popular odium. Naturally of a studious turn, Mr. Bradford, in his youth, applied himself to a serious investigation of the order and practices of the religious establishment, carefully comparing its various ordinances with the word of God. From a deliberate and prayerful attention to this subject, he became convinced of his duty to separate from the established church, that he might perform the duties of religion, unembarrassed, with ordinances of human invention. Having taken a deliberate resolution to this effect, he soon found that it met with the decided disapprobation of his friends, particularly of his uncles, from whom he received severe and angry reproaches. To these he made the following temperate reply: "Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable.—But you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and desirous not only to augment what I have, but to enjoy it in your company; to part from which, will be as great a cross as can befal me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me. Yea, I am willing, not only, to part with every thing dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am thankful that God has given me an heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him." He now saw that he was clearly addressed in the providence of

God, *Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee.—And I will bless thee—and thou shalt be a blessing.*

At the age of eighteen years, Mr. Bradford left the place of his nativity, and connecting himself with the people of Mr. Robinson's congregation, was one of the first company who endured so many sufferings and disasters in getting to Holland, in the year 1607. He there served as an apprentice to a silk manufacturer, till he became of age. He then converted his estate in England into money, and continued in the same employment. Being, however, more fond of study than business, and improving every opportunity to increase his stock of science and general information, his employment was not attended with great success. The facilities for obtaining extensive learning, in the city of Leyden, were many, and they were much improved by Mr. Bradford. He spoke the Dutch and French language with ease, in the Latin and Greek he was well skilled, but paid more particular attention to the Hebrew. He often observed, "I would see with my own eyes the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."

At the time of the projected removal of Mr. Roinson's congregation to America, Mr. Bradford engaged with ardour in the important enterprise. He was one of the first company of emigrants, who arrived on the American coast in November, 1620. In the political compact which was formed on their arrival, Mr. Carver is the first subscriber, and Mr. Bradford is the second. At the time of the landing of the planters at Plymouth, the wife of Mr. Bradford, to whom he was tenderly attached, fell from the vessel, and was drowned in the harbor. In the distressing sickness with which the plantation was afflicted, the first winter, he was a sufferer. His disease was long and severe, and he was not recovered at the death of Mr. Carver, in April. He was then, however, by the unanimous suffrage of the people, elected their governor; and he retained their undiminished confidence till his death.

As he recovered his health, and began to contemplate the weight of cares devolving upon him, the innumerable difficulties with which he must contend, the arduous labours that were before him, the many dangers in which he must be involved; had he not possessed a constancy of mind equal to the greatest patriots, a wisdom and prudence seldom equalled, a resource in difficulties adequate to every emergency, a reliance on God steady as his promises, he must have sunk under the overwhelming prospect. He was the chief magistrate of a feeble people surrounded with many enemies; he was the leader of a colony in an uninhabited wilderness, without any prospect of support from the mother country; he was the father of a fami-

ly possessed of the most scanty supplies, by innumerable losses almost wholly dispirited. But he had that hope which casts anchor within the veil, a hold which never yet was broken.

In the early part of his administration, Gov. Bradford took effectual measures to secure the friendship of the natives, in the vicinity of the colony, and succeeded in a remarkable manner, in securing their confidence. Another measure of great importance to the colony, he undertook to accomplish, which required the exercise of all his skill and authority. The plantation was commenced on the principle of a community of property. The Governor soon perceived the evils of this state of things, and notwithstanding the strong attachment to such a course which was felt by many, and the insidious insinuations which must necessarily fall upon any one that would advocate a division of a common property, he firmly prosecuted the measure, and effected a division to such an extent as was thought expedient. In the year 1627, a further distribution of the lands and the small property of the colony, was made among the planters.

For several years after the commencement of the settlement, the people suffered greatly for want of the necessaries of life. Mr. Bradford cheerfully submited to an equal share of privations and labour, living, several times, some weeks in succession, without any bread ; labouring in the fields, at the buildings, at the fortifications, taking part in the watchings which were often maintained for a security against a surprise from insidious enemies. When any came to complain of their sufferings, the readiness which he manifested to be an equal sharer in all necessary privations, his dignified composure in the greatest dangers, his cheerful serenity in the darkest times, his uniform reliance on that God who had planted them in a land not sown, quieted, if they could not relieve every mind. And in these times of distress, all that could be effected by the most active exertions, by persevering labour or daring enterprise, by the most watchful prudence or sagacious forethought, was done by their worthy governor, to preserve the existence of the colony, and to relieve the distresses of the people. Without his vigilance and exertions, it would seem that this infant colony, like several plantations which had been commenced at the southward, would have been broken up, and, for a long period, all attempts for the settlement of New-England must have been discouraged. But he was prepared for the work appointed for him to perform.

The early character and circumstances of the Plymouth settlement were such, that it would seem no person could have been their enemy. They were weak and few, struggling with every difficulty, their prospects very unpromising, on a bleak

and barren shore, surrounded with a multitude of savages, and eminently distinguished for the virtues of integrity, justice, and charity. But for the same reason that the faithful witnesses of old *had trials of cruel mockings*, and were subjected to innumerable sufferings, these humble servants of God could not escape the insidious designs of malignant enemies. Many of their savage neighbours ever viewed them with an eye of hostility, waiting a favourable opportunity to exterminate the colony. But these were not the most dangerous foes. The religious order of the church and colony of Plymouth were entirely different from the determined sentiments of the civil and ecclesiastical government of England. They were therefore constantly watched with a jealous eye. Their small consequence in the estimation of the English hierarchy, seems to have been the great reason, under the favour of Heaven, that they were to such a degree left unmolested. Some vicious characters who came from the mother country, hoping to obtain a consequence in a new plantation which they could never reach in their native land, found themselves rejected by the church of Plymouth, and could obtain no encouragement from the government of the colony. Some of these returned to England and propagated with malignant zeal, the most malicious calumnies against the new plantation. To counteract the effect of these slanderous accusations, required all the skill, all the address and fidelity of the governor. The English government declared that Mr. Robinson professed in his Apology, that they accorded with the reformed churches on the continent. They were accused of substantial deviations from those principles. Gov. Bradford, in a very able memorial, clearly showed that they agreed with the reformed churches in the essential particulars of faith and practice, that they were not Brownists, and that they did not disown the church of England as a church of Christ. These efforts of the governor, supported by the known purity of his character, proved successful.

In the first year of Mr. Bradford's administration, the Narraganset Indians, a very powerful tribe, sent him an angry message, threatening to make war upon the colony. The Governor sent them an answer, "If they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would; the colony had done them no wrong, and did not fear them, nor should they find them unprovided." By this well timed decision, the enemy were prevented from the execution of their hostile attempts.

In the year 1633, Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen the governor of the colony; being solicited by Gov. Bradford to accept of the office. Mr. Winslow was also called to the same trust in 1636, and 1644. In 1634, Mr. Thomas Prince was elected to the same office. In all of those years, Mr. Bradford

stands first among the Assistants. He held the office of governor, himself, every other year, from 1621, to 1657, the year of his death. Such an instance of the steadiness of a popular annual election, in a new settlement, founded in principles of the purest equality, unsupported by any established usages, while it stands as a prodigy in popular governments, declares more for the character of the individual, than can be done by all the eloquence of historic eulogy.

In the latter period of the life of Gov. Bradford, we find an instance of disinterestedness, not exceeded in the character of Aristides, Cincinnatus, or Publicola. The patent of the Colony was made out in his name, "To William Bradford, His heirs, Associates, and Assigns." With such an authority, he possessed every opportunity which a selfish heart could desire. But when the freemen became numerous, and several new towns were established, the General Court desired Mr. Bradford to transfer the patent, with all its privileges, to them and their successors. With their request, he cheerfully complied, confirming the act with a legal instrument, without any consideration. Notwithstanding his disinterestedness, and his long employment in the public service, and though he spent the most of his paternal estate for the support of the colony, he was much prospered in his individual circumstances, and left a good estate to his posterity.

In the latter part of his life, Gov. Bradford devoted much of his time to study, in which he arrived to very profitable attainments. He left several historical pieces, which, judging from those parts which remain, must have been very valuable; but the most of them are unfortunately lost. His favourite study was Theology, in which he made great proficiency. He was well versed in the religious controversies of his time, and was an able advocate for truth.

In his Christian character, Mr. Bradford was no less distinguished, than as a Magistrate, and the founder of a prosperous colony. In early life, he became a subject of a sanctifying grace. His religious sentiments were formed on mature reflection, and a careful examination of the holy Scriptures as the only standard of truth. His opinions on gospel documents, and the order and discipline of the Christian church, were such as have been generally maintained by the New-England churches. During the long destitute state of the Plymouth church, the wisdom and steadfastness of Gov. Bradford were eminently instrumental in preserving them from disorder, and from a departure from the truth. He often assisted in the duties of divine worship, in public, as well as in a more private manner, when deprived of the labours a minister. He was a faithful observer of the private duties of the Christian character; con-

stant in the services of religion; grave and humble in his deportment; yet cheerful and singularly uniform. No changes diverted him from the path of duty; no disappointments shook his confidence in God. His attainments in grace were eminent. For several months preceding his death, he was in a weak and declining state, from which he was convinced he should not recover. As he grew worse, contemplating, on a certain night, the character and truths of the Redeemer, his soul was filled with ecstatic joy, longing to be with Christ. He informed his friends, the next morning, that the good Spirit of God had given him the first fruits of his eternal glory. His work on earth was done, his soul was allied to the church in heaven. The day following, May 9th, 1657, in the 69th year of his age, he slept with his fathers.

There is no character among the fathers of New-England, transmitted to us as more unexceptionable, than that of Gov. Bradford. For thirty-six years, he was the pillar of the Plymouth Colony. His patriotism was ardent and incorruptible, without haughtiness or self-interest. His wisdom was practical, enlightened by science, and guided by accurate observation. His care embraced all objects within the compass of his duty, and his attention escaped none. His firmness was above the reach of casualty or craft. His demeanor always inspired confidence, and he could ever command the minds of men. The virtues of his private life were no less conspicuous than those of his public character. For these, no less than for his public services, he was always beloved. He possessed a perfect command of himself. We find no record of any hasty or rash measure in his conduct, or of any passionate speech to have fallen from him. As a Christian, he was meek and faithful, and now rests in the inheritance of the just.*

The illustrious coadjutors of Gov. Bradford, who united with him in laying the foundation of the Plymouth Colony, and supporting through the first age the work which they had reared, richly deserve the tribute of historic memorial. Gov. Winslow was their faithful and successful agent in all foreign embassies; to the Indian tribes, and to the parent country. Gov. Prince was a judicious statesman, an upright magistrate, and a valuable historian. Capt. Standish was their undaunted hero, who led all their military expeditions, not less skilled in conduct than vigorous in action. Their worthy Elder, the Rev. Mr. Brewster, who, through modesty declined the pastoral office, distinguished for his learning and piety, performed

* A silver Cup, an armed Chair, with several other articles, brought by Mr. Bradford from England, are now possessed by his descendants in Plymouth.

the ministerial duties for many years, to great acceptance, ever enjoying the confidence and the attachment of the people, and rested from his labours in a good old age. Though it would be highly pleasing to have a nearer view of these eminent fathers, equally illustrious for vigour of mind, for Christian piety, and eminent usefulness, in our present historic sketch, they must be passed with the bare mention of their nnmes, and the willing tribute of grateful remembrance.

In 1621, the Virginia company passed an ordinance establishing the constitution of the colony. This provided that thenceforth there should be two supreme councils in Virginia, the one to be called the council of state, to be appointed and displaced by the treasurer and company, and to assist the governor with advice on executive subjects; the other to be denominated the general assembly, and to consist of the governor, the council and two burgesses, to be chosen for the present by the inhabitants of every town. The assembly was empowered to consult and determine on matters respecting the public weal. It was declared that no acts passed by the assembly should be in force until confirmed by the general court in England, and the ratification returned under its seal, and that on the other hand no order of the general court should bind the colony until assented to by the assembly. In 1622, the controversy which had for some time existed between the crown and the company concering the importation of tobacco, was at length adjusted by amicable agreement. The king had demanded high duties on that article while he admitted its importation from the dominions of Spain, and had also restrained the company from transporting it directly from Virginia to their warehouses in Holland, to which expedient, his exactions had driven them. It was now agreed that they should enjoy the sole right of importing that commodity into the kingdom, for which they should pay a duty of nine-pence per pound, in lieu of all charges, and that the whole productions of the colony should be brought to England. The industry of the colony had now greatly increased. At peace with the Indians, their settlements had extended not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but to the Rappahannoc, and even to the Potowmac. It now became extremely inconvenient to bring all causes to Jamestown before the governor and council. Thus originated the present county courts of Virginia. In this year the cup of prosperity of which the colony now began to taste, was dashed from their lips, by an event which shook to its foundation, and nearly destroyed the colony. In the year 1618, Powhatan, the most powerful of the Indian kings in Virginia, who after the marriage of his daughter to Mr. Rolfe, had remained faithful to the English, departed this life, and was succeeded by

Opechancanough, a bold and cunning chief, remarkable for his jealousy and hatred of the new settlers; but for a considerable time the general peace remained undisturbed. The Indians were furnished with fire arms, and taught the use of them; they were admitted at all times freely into the habitations of the English, as harmless visitants; were fed at their tables, and lodged in their chambers. The 22d of March was designated as the day on which all the English were to be at the same instant attacked. Thus, in one hour, and almost at the same instant, fell 347 men, women and children. The massacre would have been still greater, had not information been given the preceding night, to a Mr. Pace, by an Indian, who disclosed to him the plot. He immediately carried the intelligence to Jamestown, and the alarm was given to some of the nearest settlements, which were thereby saved.

As soon as intelligence reached England of these calamities of the sufferers, relief was ordered. Arms from the tower were delivered to the treasurer and company, and several vessels were immediately despatched with articles for their relief. While the Virginians were mourning their losses, the Plymouth company began to experience the distress of famine. By the time their planting was finished, 1623, their provisions were so far exhausted, that they had neither bread nor corn, for three or four months. A drought continued from May until some time in July. Under these afflictions, they appointed a day of fasting and prayer, to humble themselves before God. But a plentiful harvest soon followed, which was noticed by a day of thanksgiving.

Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, who had prevented some few of his countrymen who had settled around the bay at Massachussetts, from returning to England, by his assurances of procuring them relief and assistance, formed by great exertions an association of several gentlemen, who had imbibed puritanical opinions, for the purpose of conducting thither a colony, and rendering it an asylum from the persecution of his own persuasion. In prosecution of their views, a treaty was concluded with the council of Plymouth, for the purchase of part of New England; and that corporation, in March 1627, conveyed to Sir Henry Roswell and others, all that part of New England lying three miles to the south of Charles River, and three miles north of Merrimack river, and extending from the Atlantic to the south sea. A small number of planters and servants were soon afterwards despatched under Endicot, a deep enthusiast, who, in September, 1628, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town in Massachusetts. In the year 1629, soon after the organization of the company, under the sanction of the royal charter, they resolv-

ed a second embarkation for their new colony, to support the expenses of which, it was resolved that every person who should subscribe fifty pounds, should be entitled to two hundred acres of land, as the first dividend. Five ships were provided for the purpose, and being laden with cattle and other necessaries, for the supply of the colony, with three hundred persons, men, women and children, they sailed from the Isle of Wight, in May, and arrived at Salem in June, where they found Endicot, to whom they brought a confirmation of his commission as governor. The colony now consisted of three hundred persons, of whom one hundred removed and settled the town of Charlestown; and the remainder continued at Salem. Mr. Hugginson and Mr. Skelton, distinguished for their learning and piety, both of them, resolved to lend important services in laying the foundation of the American Church. These faithful servants of Christ cordially engaged in the great design; they embarked with the second party, and arrived at Salem, in 1629.

Early in the following year, John Winthrop, who had been appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy governor, with one thousand five hundred persons, embarked on board of seventeen vessels at an expense of upwards of twenty thousand pounds, and arrived at Salem in July, 1630. Dissatisfied with this situation, they explored the country in quest of a better station, and settled in many places around the bay; and laid the foundation of several towns, among others of Boston.

On the arrival of Gov. Winthrop, in July, who was from that time to his death, the head and father of the colony, he found the plantation in a suffering state. In the preceding autumn the colony contained about three hundred inhabitants; eighty of them died, and a great part of the survivors were in a weak, sickly state. Their supply of corn was not sufficient for more than a fortnight, and their provisions nearly exhausted. Friday, Febuary 6th, was appointed as a day of fasting and prayer; but on the fifth of Febuary, a ship arrived with provisions, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed by the governor.

The succeeding winter commenced in December, with great severity; few of the houses which had been erected were comfortable. Unused to such severities of climate, the people suffered severely from the cold. Many of them died from the cold. On the opening of the Spring of 1631, health was generally restored in the settlements; but the colony was greatly impoverished. All the provisions that were brought from England, were purchased at a very high rate. By the length of the passage and the severity of the winter, the great-

er part of their cattle died. The materials for building and implements of labor were obtained with great difficulty and expense. This year, great exertions were made for a crop of Indian corn, which was their whole dependance; and it pleased God to give them an abundant harvest.

In the commencement of all the individual settlements, the planters were mindful of their great errand into the wilderness; and directed their first exertions to the establishment of the church of Christ, and the institution of the gospel. The first church after the one at Salem was gathered at Charlestown, August 27th, 1630. Soon after this, a church was organized at Dorchester. The next was at Boston; one at Roxbury, one at Lynn, and one at Watertown. In less than two years from the organization of the first church in Salem, there were in the colony seven churches, which were indeed golden candlesticks.

In 1633 came over Mr. Haynes, afterwards the first governor of Connecticut, and Mr. Stone, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton; three of the most eminent lights of the New England churches.

On the 21st of February, an order was made by the king in council, to stop the ships at that time ready to sail, freighted with passengers and provisions for New England. But this order seems never to have been strictly executed, as the emigrations still continued, without any sensible diminution.

To the religious dissensions which distracted Massachusetts, and to the rigour with which conformity was exacted, is in great measure to be attributed the first settlement of the other colonies of New England. As early as 1634, Roger Williams, a very popular preacher of Salem, who had refused to hold communion with the church at Boston, because its members refused to make a public declaration of their repentance for having held communion with the church of England, during their residence in that country, was charged with many exceptionable tenets. The divines of Massachusetts opposed Mr. Williams; he was accordingly summoned to appear before the general court, and the ministers of the colony. Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but, being unable to change his sentiments, it was decreed by the court, and approved by the ministers, that he should depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks. Many of his disciples followed him into exile; and travelling south until they passed the line of Massachusetts, they purchased a tract of land of the Narragansetts, then a powerful tribe of Indians; where, in 1635, they made a settlement, to which they gave the name of Providence. Having fixed their place of residence, they entered into a voluntary association, and framed a government, com-

posed of the whole body of freemen, for the preservation of peace, and the making of such laws as their situation might require. They created a church after the manner of Massachusetts, by collecting a religious society; but as one of the causes of their migration, had been the tenet that all were entitled to freedom of conscience in worship, the most entire toleration in matters of religion was established.

Williams long retained his authority. He employed himself continually in acts of kindness; affording relief to the distressed, and an asylum to the persecuted. It was not long after the banishment of Williams, that the controversy between those who maintained the covenant of works, and those who maintained the covenant of grace, divided and distracted Massachusetts. This controversy having been decided in 1637 against the Antinomians, or those who supported the covenant of grace, Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of deep enthusiasm, and the leader of that sect, was banished. She with many of her disciples, followed the steps of Williams, and arrived in his neighbourhood. They purchased a tract of land from the same tribe, where they founded Rhode Island. They formed a similar association, and adopted the same principles of toleration. They afforded protection to those who resorted thither. In consequence of this conduct, the Island soon became so populated as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores.

Let me now call the attention of the reader to the settlement of Connecticut. The first discovery of the country of Connecticut River, was made by the enterprising people of Plymouth, in 1633. The Plymouth people determined to undertake the enterprise at their own risk. Preparations were made for erecting a trading house, and establishing a small company upon the river. In the mean time the master of a vessel from Massachusetts, who was trading at New Netherlands, shewed to the Dutch governor the commission the English had to trade and settle in New England; and that the king had granted these parts to his own subjects: he also desired that the Dutch would not build in Connecticut. The Dutch governor requested that the English would not settle in Connecticut until the affair should be determined between them. This appears to have been a piece of policy in the Dutch governor, to keep the English back, until the Dutch had got a firm footing upon the river.

In September, several vessels went into Connecticut river, to trade. John Oldham, from Dorchester, with a few men, travelled through Connecticut to view the country, and trade with the Indians. He found that the Indian hemp grew in great abundance in the meadows, and purchased a quantity of it, which upon trial, was found to exceed that which grew in

England. William Holmes, of Plymouth, with his company, having prepared a frame of a house, and boards and materials for covering it, immediately put them on board a vessel, and sailed for Connecticut. When he came into the river, he found that the Dutch had got in before him, and made a light fort, and planted two pieces of cannon at the mouth of the little river, since called Hartford. The Dutch forbade Holmes going up the river, stood by their cannon, and ordered him to strike his colours, or they would fire upon him; but he was a man of spirit, and assured them that he had a commission from the governor of Plymouth, to go up the river, and go he would. They still threatened, but he proceeded, landed on the west side of the river, and erected his house, a little below the mouth of the little river in Windsor. This was the first house erected in Connecticut. It was covered with the utmost despatch, and well fortified. The Sachems who were original owners of the soil, had been driven from this point of the country, by the Pequots, and were now carried home on board Holmes' vessel. The Dutch, about the same time, erected a trading house at Hartford. It was with great difficulty that Holmes and his company erected and fortified their house, and kept it afterwards. The Dutch, before the Plymouth people took possession of the river, had been invited to trade with them at Connecticut; but when they found that they were preparing for a settlement there, they repented of the invitation, and did all in their power to prevent them. On the 8th of June, the Dutch purchased about twenty acres of land at Hartford, of a Pequod captain. Of this the Dutch took possession; they protested against Holmes, the builder of the trading house. Some time afterwards, the Dutch governor despatched a reinforcement from fort Amsterdam to Connecticut, designing to drive Holmes and his company from the river. A band of seventy men assaulted the Plymouth house; but they found it too well fortified, and gave up their design.

In November and December, the small pox raged among the Indians; two Sachems, with a great part of their Indians, died. When their own people forsook them, the English, who lived near them, went to their wigwams, and ministered to them. Some families spent almost their whole time with them. One Englishman buried thirty of their dead in one day.

In 1634, at a meeting of the General Court, in September, the people of Newtown made application for liberty to remove to Connecticut River. Mr. Hooker, acting as principal advocate for the people, the court refused to give their consent; and the design was given over. In 1635, permission was granted, on condition that the new settlement should continue subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The people of Newtown,

Dorchester, and Watertown, now began to prepare for their new habitation. In the course of the season, several people went to Connecticut river; some by water, some through the wilderness. The Dorchester men sat down at Windsor, near the Plymouth trading house. They purchased the building and land owned by the Plymouth people. The people from Newtown, of whom but few removed till the following year, settled at Hartford. The Watertown settlers began the town of Wethersfield. In 1636, about one hundred persons, men, women and children, led by the Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone, together with their horses, cattle and swine, commenced their journey through the wilderness to Connecticut river. They travelled about two weeks, on foot; during which time they lived upon the milk of their cows. By the 25th of November, Connecticut river was frozen over; heavy falls of snow succeeded, and the season was very severe. Several small vessels, which had been laden with their furniture and provisions, sailed from Boston, and were wrecked on the coast. By the last of November, provision began to fail in the settlements on the river, and death looked them sternly in the face. Thirteen in one company, driven by hunger, attempted their way in this severe season. In passing the river, one of their company fell through the ice, and was drowned, the other twelve were kept from perishing by the Indians, and arrived in Massachusetts in ten days. Their distress was so great that by the first of December a considerable part of the men settlers were obliged to abandon their habitations. As the only means of preserving their lives, about seventy persons, men, women and children, left their settlements, and went down the river, in hopes of meeting with their provisions. As their expectation failed, they went on board the Rebecca lying near the mouth of the river. This, but two days before, was frozen in twenty miles up the river, but was released by the falling of a small rain, and reached Boston in five days. Had it not been for a very quick passage, the people must have perished. The people that kept their situations on the river suffered extremely. After all the help they were able to obtain by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt and grain. The number of cattle that could not be got over before winter, living upon what they found in the woods and meadows, wintered better than those which were brought over; however, a great number of them perished. Early in the spring, those who went from Connecticut to spend the winter with their friends, began to return to their new habitations.

The first court held in Connecticut, was held at Newtown, April 26th, 1636.

Towards the last of the year 1635, Mr. Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, the worthy character who afterwards procured the Connecticut Charter, arrived at Boston with a commission from lords Say and Seal, lord Brook, and others, to take possession of Connecticut river; and built a fort, which they had named Saybrook.

In a few days, a Dutch vessel appeared off the harbour, sent to take possession of the entrance of the river, and erect fortifications; but the English had by this time mounted two cannon, and prevented their landing. Thus providentially was this fine tract of country preserved for our venerable ancestors, and their posterity.

In September 1636, Mr. Pynchion, with a part of the people of Roxbury, began the settlement of the town of Springfield; but no sooner had the English begun to trade, and make settlements in Connecticut, than the Pequods began to murder, and kill their cattle. In 1634, they murdered captains Stone and Norton, with their whole crew, consisting of eight men; they then plundered and sunk the vessel.

In November following, the Pequods sent a messenger to Boston, for the purpose of obtaining peace with the English. He made an offer of a great quantity of beaver skins, to pursuade the governor to enter into a league with them. The governor assured them that the English were willing to make peace on condition that they would give up the murderers of Captain Stone and his men; the Indians assured him that the murderers were all dead but two, and they would give them up to justice; they offered to give up their right at Connecticut river, if the English desired to settle there, and engaged to assist them as far as was in their power in making settlements; they also agreed that they would give the English forty beaver and thirty otter skins. The governor and council entered into a treaty with them on the conditions they proposed. Whatever their designs were at that time, they soon afterwards became more and more mischievous, hostile and bloody.

In 1636, John Oldham was murdered near Block Island. He had with him two boys and two Narraganset Indians; these were taken and carried off. John Gallup, as he was going from Connecticut to Boston, discovered Mr. Oldham's vessel full of Indians, and saw a canoe go from her laden with goods. Suspecting they had murdered Mr. Oldham, he hailed them, but received no answer. Gallup was a bold man; and although he had but one man and two boys with him, he immediately bore down upon her, and fired duck shot so thick among them, that he soon cleared the deck. The Indians all got under the hatches. He then stood off, bore down upon her, with a brisk gale, and nearly overset her, which so frightened the Indians, that

several jumped overboard and were drowned; he then stood off, and running down upon her the second time, raked her fore and aft with his shot, and running down upon her a third time, he gave her such a shock, that five more jumped overboard and were drowned. He then boarded her, and took two of the Indians and bound them. Two or three others, armed with swords, in a little room below, could not be driven out. Mr. Oldham's corpse was found on board; his head split, and the body mangled in a barbarous manner. Gallup and his men, then, as decently as possible, put the corpse into the sea. After taking her rigging and goods which had not been carried off, they were obliged to let her go adrift, and she was lost. The Indians who committed the murder were chiefly Block Islanders, and Narragansets. The governor and council of Massachusetts, despatched captain Endicott with ninety volunteers to avenge the murder. The Narraganset Sachems sent home Mr. Oldham's two boys, and made peace with them; but the other Indians made no compensation. Captain Endicott was ordered to proceed to Block Island, put the men to the sword, and take possession of the Island, but to spare the women and children. They sailed from Boston 25th of August. When they arrived at Block Island, forty or fifty Indians appeared on shore, and opposed his landing. After a short skirmish, the Indians fled to the woods. After the English had spent two days on the Island, burning the wigwams, destroying the corn, and staving their canoes, they sailed for the Pequot country; when they had arrived in Pequot harbour, Captain Endicott acquainted the Pequots with his design; in a few hours, about three hundred Pequots appeared upon the shore; but as soon as they were fully informed of his business, they began to withdraw into the woods. He landed his men on both sides the harbour, burnt their wigwams, destroyed their canoes, killed one or two Indians, and returned to Boston. This measure, instead of allaying, seemed to increase their hostility; several persons were taken near Saybrook fort, and tortured with savage barbarity. About the beginning of October, the enemy concealed themselves in the grass in the meadow, and surprised five of the garrison at Saybrook, as they were carrying home their hay. One Butterfield was taken and tortured to death; the rest made their escape. Eight or ten days after, Joseph Filley, a master of a small vessel, was taken as he was going down the Connecticut river. He came to anchor about three miles above the fort, and taking a canoe and one man with him went a fowling. No sooner had he discharged his piece, than a large number of Pequots, arising from their concealment, took him and killed his companion. The Indians used him in the most barbarous manner, first cutting

off his hands, and then his feet; thus torturing him to death. As he did not groan, they pronounced him a stout man.

In March, 1637, Lieutenant Gardiner, who commanded the fort at Saybrook, going out with about twelve men, to burn the marshes, was waylaid near a narrow neck of land; the enemy rose upon him, killed three of his men, and wounded several. The enemy pursued them in great numbers to the fort, and compassed it on all sides. They challenged the English to come out and fight; they boasted that they could kill the English-men,—all one flies; mocked the groans of the wounded. But the cannon being loaded with grape shot was fired among them, which caused them to groan in reality. Soon after, the enemy, in a number of canoes beset a shallop, going down the river, with three men on board; the men fought bravely, but were overpowered by numbers, and taken. The Indians ripped them up from the bottom of their bellies to their throats, and cleft them down their backs. They then hung them upon trees beside the river in full view of the English, as they passed up and down, on the river.

At a court holden at Hartford, it was decreed that the plantation of Newtown should be named Hartford, and that Watertown should be named Wethersfield, and that Dorchester should be called Windsor.

In April, the Indians waylaid the people at Wethersfield, as they were going into the fields to labour, and killed six men and three women; two maids were taken captive, twenty cows killed, and other damages done to the inhabitants.

The court holden at Hartford, May 1st, 1637, resolved to prosecute the war with the Pequots; that ninety men should be raised; forty two from Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Wethersfield. Massachusetts determined to send two hundred, and Plymouth forty men to assist Connecticut in prosecuting the war.

The troops being assembled at Hartford, May 10th, Rev. Mr. Hooker delivered the following address.

"Fellow soldiers, countrymen and companions! you are this day assembled by the special providence of God! you are not collected by wild fancy, nor ferocious passions. It is not a tumultuous assembly, whose actions are abortive, or if successful, produce only theft, rapine and murder; crimes inconsistent with nature's light—inconsistent with a soldier's valor. You my dear hearts, were selected from your neighbors, by the godly fathers of the land, for your known courage, to execute such a work. Your cause is the cause of heaven; the enemy have blasphemed your God, and slain his servants; you are only the ministers of his justice. I do not pretend that your enemies are careless or indifferent; no, their hatred is inflamed, their lips

thirst for blood ; they would devour you, and all the people of God; but my brave soldiers, their guilt has reached the clouds; they are ripe for destruction ; their cruelty is notorious ; and cruelty and cowardice are always united. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent your certain victory, but their nimble feet, their impenetrable woods ; from these your small numbers will entice them, or your courage drive them. I now put the question—Who would not fight in such a cause ? fight with undaunted boldness ? do you wish for more encouragement ? more I give you. Riches waken the soldier's sword ; and though you will not obtain silver and gold on the field of victory, you will secure what is infinitely more precious, you will secure the *liberties, the privileges and the lives of Christ's church, in this new world.* You will procure safety for your affectionate wives, safety for your prattling, harmless, smiling babes : you will secure all the blessings enjoyed by the people of God, in the ordinances of the gospel. Distinguished was the honor conferred upon David, for fighting the battles of the Lord ; this honor, O ye courageous soldiers of God, is now prepared for you. You will now execute his vengeance on the heathen ; you will bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron. But perhaps some one may fear that a fatal arrow may deprive him of this honor. Let every faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, be assured, that if any servant be taken away, it is merely because the honors of this world are too narrow for his reward ; an everlasting crown is set upon his head, because the rewards of this life are insufficient. March then with christian courage, in the strength of the Lord ; march with faith in his divine promises, and soon your swords shall find your enemies, soon they shall fall like the leaves of the forest under your feet."

On Wednesday, the 10th of May, the troops from Connecticut fell down the river, for the fort at Saybrook. They consisted of 90 Englishmen, and about 70 Mohegan and river Indians. They embarked on board a pink, a pinnace and a shallop. The Indians were commanded by Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans. The whole was commanded by captain John Mason, who had been bred a soldier in the old countries. The Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford went their chaplain. On Monday the 15th, the troops arrived at Saybrook fort. As the water was low, this little fleet several times ran aground. The Indians, impatient of delays, desired to be set on shore, promising to join the English at Saybrook. The captain therefore granted their request. On their march they fell in with about forty of the enemy, near the fort, killed seven, and took one prisoner.

The prisoner had been a perfidious villian. He had lived in the fort, some time before, and could speak English well. But after the Pequots commenced hostilities against the English, he

became a constant spy upon the garrison, and acquainted Sassacus with every thing he could discover. He had been present at the slaughter of all the English who had been killed at Saybrook. Uncas and his men insisted upon executing him according to the manner of their ancestors; and the English, in the circumstances in which they then were, did not judge it prudent to interpose. The Indians, kindling a large fire, violently tore him limb from limb. Barbarously cutting his flesh in pieces, they handed it round from one to another, eating it, singing and dancing round the fire, in their violent and tumultuous manner. The bones and such parts of their captive, as were not consumed in this dreadful repast, were committed to the flames and burnt to ashes.

This success was matter of joy, not only as it was a check upon the enemy, but it was an evidence of the fidelity of Uncas and his Indians, of which the English had been before in doubt. There were other circumstances, however, which more than counterbalanced this joy. The army lay wind bound until Friday, and Captain Mason and his officers were entirely divided in opinion, with respect to the manner of prosecuting their enterprise. The court, by the commission and instructions which it had given, enjoined the landing of the men at Pequot harbour, and that from thence they should advance upon the enemy. The captain was for passing by them, and sailing to the Narraganset country. He was fixed in this opinion, because he found that, expecting the army at Pequot harbour, they kept watch upon the river night and day. Their number of men greatly exceeded his. He was informed, at Saybrook, that they had sixteen fire arms, with powder and shot. The harbour was compassed with rocks and thickets, affording the enemy every advantage. They were upon the land, and exceedingly light of foot. He was therefore of the opinion, that they would render it very difficult and dangerous to land, and that he might sustain such loss, as would discourage his men and frustrate the design of the expedition. If they should make good their landing, he was sure, that while they directed their march through the country, to the enemy's forts, they would waylay and attack them, with their whole force, at every difficult pass. Besides if they should find, on trial, that they were not able to defeat the English, they would run off to swamps and fastnesses, where they could not be found; and they should not be able to effect any thing capital against them. He was not without hopes, that, by going to Narraganset, he might surprise them. There was also some prospect, that the Narragansets would join him in the expedition, and that he might fall in with some part of the troops from Massachusetts.

His officers and men in general were for attending their instructions, and going at all hazards directly to the forts. The necessity of their affairs at home, the danger of the Indians attacking their families and settlements, in their absence, made them wish, at once to despatch the business, on which they had been sent. They did not relish a long march through the wilderness. They also imagined that they might be discovered, even should they determine to march from Narraganset to the attack of the enemy. In this division of opinion, Mr. Stone was desired by the officers most importunately to pray for them, that their way might be directed, and that, notwithstanding the present embarrassment, the enterprise might be crowned with success.

Mr. Stone spent most of Thursday night in prayer, and the next morning visiting captain Mason, assured him, that he had done as he was desired; adding, that he was entirely satisfied with his plan. The council was again called, and, upon a full view of all the reasons, unanimously agreed to proceed to Narraganset. It was also determined that twenty men should be sent back to Connecticut, to strengthen the infant settlements, while the rest of the troops were employed in service against the enemy; and, that Captain Underhill, with nineteen men from the garrison at Saybrook fort, should supply their places.

On Friday, May 19th, the Captain sailed for Narraganset bay, and arrived on Saturday at the desired port. On Monday, captain Mason, and captain Underhill marched with a guard to the plantation of Canonicus, and acquainted him with the design of their coming. A messenger was immediately despatched to Miantonimoh, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, to acquaint him also with the expedition. The next day Miantonimoh met them, with his chief counsellors and warriors, consisting of about 200 men. Captain Mason certified him, that the occasion of his coming with armed men, into his country, was to avenge the intolerable injuries which the Pequots, his as well as their enemies, had done the English: and, that he desired a free passage to the Pequot forts. After a solemn consultation in the Indian manner, Miantonimoh answered, That he highly approved of the expedition, and that he would send men. He observed, however, that the English were not sufficient in number to fight with the enemy. He said the Pequots were great Captains, skilled in war, and rather slighted the English. Captain Mason landed his men, and marched just at night to the plantation of Canonicus, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous. That night there arrived an Indian runner in the camp, with a letter from captain Patrick, who had arrived with his party at Mr. Williams' plantation in Providence. Captain Patrick signified his

desire, that captain Mason would wait until he could join him. Upon deliberation it was determined not to wait, though a junction was greatly desired. The men had already been detained much longer than was agreeable to their wishes. When they had absolutely resolved the preceding day to march the next morning, the Indians insisted that they were but in jest; that Englishmen talked much, but would not fight. It was therefore feared, that any delay would have a bad effect upon them. It was also suspected that, if they did not proceed immediately, they should be discovered, as there were a number of squaws who maintained an intercourse between the Pequot and Narraganset Indians. The army therefore, consisting of seventy seven Englishmen, sixty Mohegan and river Indians, and about two hundred Narragansets, marched on Wednesday morning, and that day reached the eastern Nihantic, about eighteen or twenty miles from the place of rendezvous the night before. This was a frontier to the Pequots, and was the seat of one of the Narraganset sachems. Here the army halted, at the close of the day. But the sachem and his Indians conducted themselves in a haughty manner towards the English, and would not suffer them to enter within their fort. Captain Mason therefore placed a strong guard round the fort; and as the Indians would not suffer him to enter it, he determined that none of them should come out. Knowing the perfidy of the Indians, and that it was customary among them to suffer the nearest relatives of their greatest enemies to reside with them, he judged it necessary, to prevent their discovering him to the enemy.

In the morning, a considerable number of Miantonimoh's men came on and joined the English. This encouraged many of the Nihanticks also to join them. They soon formed a circle, and made protestations, how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill. When the army marched, the next morning, the captain had with him nearly five hundred Indians. He marched twelve miles, to the ford in Pawcatuck river. The day was very hot, and the men, through the great heat, and a scarcity of provision, began to faint. The army, therefore, made a considerable halt, and refreshed themselves. Here the Narraganset Indians began to manifest their dread of the Pequots, and to inquire of captain Mason, with great anxiety, what were his real designs. He assured them, that it was his design to attack the Pequots in their forts. At this they appeared to be panic-struck, and filled with amazement. Many of them drew off, and returned to Naraganset. The army marched on about three miles, and came to Indian corn fields; and the captain, imagining that he drew near the enemy, made a halt: he called his guides and council, and demanded of the

Indians how far it was to the forts. They represented, that it was twelve miles to Sassacus's fort, and that both forts were in a manner impregnable. Wequosh, a Pequot Captain or petty sachem, who had revolted from Sassacus to the Narragansets, was the principal guide, and he proved faithful. He gave such information, respecting the distance of the forts from each other, and the distance which they were then at, from the chief sachem's, as determined him and his officers to alter the resolution which they had before adopted, of attacking them both at once; and to make a united attack upon that at Mistic. He found his men so fatigued, in marching through a pathless wilderness, with their provisions, arms, and ammunition, and so affected with the heat, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. One of captain Underhill's men became lame, at the same time, and began to fail. The army, therefore, proceeded directly to Mistic, and continuing their march, came to a small swamp between two hills, just at the disappearing of the day light. The officers, supposing that they were now near the fort, pitched their little camp, between or near two large rocks, in Groton, since called Porter's rocks. The men were faint and weary, and though the rocks were their pillows, their rest was sweet. The guards and sentinels were considerably advanced, in the front of the army, and heard the enemy singing, at the fort, who continued their rejoicings even until midnight. They had seen the vessels pass the harbor, some days before, and had concluded, that the English were afraid, and had not courage to attack them. They were therefore, rejoicing, singing, dancing, insulting them, and wearying themselves, on this account.

The night was serene, and, towards morning, the moon shone clear. The important crisis was now come, when the very existence of Connecticut, under providence, was to be determined by the sword, in a single action; and to be decided by the good conduct of less than eighty brave men. The Indians who remained, were now sorely dismayed, and though, at first, they had led the van, and boasted of great feats, yet were now all fallen back in the rear.

About two hours before day, the men were roused with all expedition, and briefly commending themselves and their cause to God, advanced immediately towards the fort. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of a large hill, where a fine country opened before them. The captain, supposing that the fort could not be far distant, sent for the Indians in the rear, to come up. Uncas and Wequosh, at length appeared. He demanded of them where the fort was. They answered on the top of the hill. He demanded of them where were the other Indians. They answered, that they were much afraid.—

The captain sent to them not to fly, but to surround the fort, at any distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would fight. The day was nearly dawning, and no time was to be lost. The men pressed on, in two divisions, captain Mason to the north-eastern, and captain Underhill to the western entrance. As the object which they had been so long seeking, came into view, and while they reflected they were to fight not only for themselves, but their parents, wives, children, and the whole colony, the martial spirit kindled in their bosoms, and they were wonderfully animated. As captain Mason advanced within a rod or two of the fort, a dog barked, and an Indian roared out, Owanux! Owanux! That is, Englishmen! Englishmen! The troops pressed on, and as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them, through the pallisadoes, a general discharge of their muskets, and then wheeling off to the principal entrance, entered the fort sword in hand. Notwithstanding the suddenness, of the attack, the blaze and thunder of their arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance. Captain Mason and his party, drove the Indians in the main street towards the west part of the fort, where some bold men who had forced their way, met them, and made such slaughter among them, that the street was soon clear of the enemy. They secreted themselves in and behind their wigwams, and taking advantage of every covert, maintained an obsinate defence. The Captain and his men entered the wigwams, where they were beset with many Indians, who took every advantage to shoot them, and lay hands upon them, so that it was with great difficulty that they could defend themselves with their swords. After a severe conflict, in which many of the Indians were slain, some of the English killed, and others sorely wounded, the victory still hung in suspense. The captain finding himself much exhausted, and out of breath, as well as his men, by the extraordinary exertions which they had made; in this critical state of action, had recourse to a successful expedient. He cries out to his men, *We must burn them.* He immediately entering a wigwam, took fire, and put it into the mats, with which the wigwams were covered. The fire instantly kindling, spread with such violence that all the Indian houses were soon wrapped in flames. As the fire increased, the English retired without the fort, and compassed it on every side. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansets as yet remained, took courage, from the example of the English, and formed another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now seized with astonishment, and forced, by the flames, from their lurking places, into open light, became a fair mark for the English soldiers. Some climbed the pallisadoes, and were instantly brought down by the fire of the English mus-

kets. Others, desperately sallying forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut in pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run back from the English, into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration.

The greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women and children, in the fort, and the shoutings of the Indians without, just at the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In a little more than an hour this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword, or in the flames.* A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on, the evening before, who that very morning, were to have gone forth against the English. Of these, and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient to obtain the victory, and save his men. Thus parents and children, the sannup and squaw, the old man and babe, perished in promiscuous ruin.

Though the victory was complete, yet the army were in great danger and distress. The men had been exceedingly fatigued, by the heat, and long marches through rough and difficult places; and by that constant watch and guard which they had been obliged to keep. They had now been greatly exhausted, by the sharpness of the action, and the exertions which they had been necessitated to make. Their loss was very considerable. Two men were killed, and nearly twenty wounded.

This was more than one quarter of the English. Numbers fainted by reason of fatigue, the heat, and want of necessaries. The surgeon, their provisions, and the articles necessary for the wounded, were on board the vessels, which had been ordered to sail from the Narraganset bay, the night before, for Pequot harbour; but there was no appearance of them in the sound. They were sensible that, by the burning of the fort, and the noise of war, they had alarmed the country; and therefore were in constant expectation of an attack, by a fresh and numerous enemy from the other fortress, and from every quarter whence the Pequots might be collected.

A number of friendly Indians had been wounded, and they were so distracted with fear, that it was difficult even to speak

*Captain Mason, in his history, says six or seven hundred. From the number of wigwams, and the reinforcement, the probability is that about six hundred were destroyed.

with their guide and interpeter, or to know any thing what they designed. The English were in an enemy's country, and entire strangers to the way in which they must return. The enemy were far more numerous than themselves, and enraged to the highest degree. Another circumstance rendered their situation still more dangerous, their provisions and ammunition were nearly expended. Four or five men were so wounded that it was necessary to carry them, and they were also obliged to bear about twenty fire arms, so that not more than forty men could be spared for action.

After an interval of about an hour, while the officers were in consultation what course they should take, their vessels, as though guided by the hand of providence, to serve the necessities of these brave men, came full in view; and, under a fair gale, were steering directly into the harbour. This, in the situation of the army at that time, was a most joyful sight.

Immediately, upon the discovery of the vessels, about three hundred Indians came on from the other fort. Captain Mason, perceiving their approach, led out a chosen party to engage them, and try their temper. He gave them such a warm reception, as soon checked and put them to a stand. This gave him great encouragement, and he ordered the army to march for Pequot harbour. The enemy, upon this, immediately advanced to the hill, where the fort stood; and viewing the destruction which had been made, stamped and tore their hair from their heads. After a short pause, and blowing themselves up to the highest transport of passion, they leaped down the hill after the army, in the most violent manner, as though they were about to run over the English. Captain Underhill, who, with a number of the best men, was ordered to defend the rear, soon checked the eagerness of their pursuit, and taught them to keep at a more respectful distance. The friendly Indians who had not deserted, now kept close to the English, and it was believed, that after the enemy came on, they were afraid to leave them. The enemy pursued the army nearly six miles, sometimes shooting at a distance, from behind the rocks and trees, and at other times, pressing on more violently, and desperately hazarding themselves in the open field.

That the English might be enabled to fight, captain Mason soon hired the Indians to carry the wounded men and their arms. The English killed several of the enemy while they pursued them, but sustained no loss themselves. When they killed a Pequot, the other Indians would shout, run and fetch his head. At length, the enemy finding that they could make no impression upon the army, and that wounds and death attended their attempts, gave over the pursuit.

The army then marched to the harbor, with their colors flying, and were received on board the vessels, with great mutual joy and congratulation.

In about three weeks from the time the men embarked at Hartford, they returned again to their respective habitations. They were received with the greatest exultation. As the people had been deeply affected with their danger, and full of anxiety for their friends, while nearly half the effective men in the colony were in service, upon so hazardous an enterprise, so sudden a change, in the great victory obtained, and in the safe return of so many of their children and neighbors, filled them with exceeding joy and thankfulness. Every family, and every worshipping assembly, spoke the language of praise and thanksgiving.

Several circumstances attending this enterprise, were much noticed by the soldiers themselves, and especially by all the pious people. It was considered as very providential, that the army should march nearly forty miles, and a considerable part of it in the enemy's country, and not be discovered until the moment they were ready to commence the attack. It was judged remarkable, that the vessels should come into the harbour at the very hour in which they were most needed. The life of captain Mason was very signally preserved. As he entered a wigwam for fire to burn the fort, an Indian was drawing an arrow to the very head, and would have killed him instantly; but Davis, one his sergeants, cut the bow string with his cutlass and prevented the fatal shot. Lieutenant Bull received an arrow into a hard piece of cheese, which he had in his clothes, and by it was saved harmless. Two soldiers, John Dyer and Thomas Stiles, both servants of one man, were shot in the knots of their neckloths, and by them preserved from instant death.

Few enterprises have ever been achieved with more personal bravery or good conduct. In few have so great a proportion of the effective men of a whole colony, state, or nation been put to so great an immediate danger. In few, have a people been so deeply and immediately interested, as the whole colony of Connecticut was in this, in that uncommon crisis. In these respects, even the great armaments and battles of Europe are, comparatively, of little importance. In this, under the divine conduct, by seventy-seven brave men, Connecticut was saved, and the most warlike and terrible Indian nation in New-England, defeated and ruined.

The body of the Pequots, returning from the pursuit of captain Mason, repaired to Sassacus, at the royal fortress, and related the doleful story of their misfortunes. They charged them all to his haughtiness and misconduct, and threatened

him, and his, with immediate destruction. His friends and chief counsellors interceded for him; and, at their entreaty, his men spared his life. Then, upon consultation, they concluded, that they could not, with safety, remain any longer in the country. They were, indeed, so panic struck, that, burning their wigwams and destroying their fort they fled and scattered into various parts of the country. Sassacus, Mononotto, and seventy or eighty of their chief counsellors and warriors, took their route towards Hudson's river.

Just before captain Mason went out upon the expedition against the Pequots, the Dutch performed a very neighbourly office for Connecticut. The two maids, who had been captivated at Wethersfield, had, through the humanity and mediation of Mononotto's squaw, been spared from death, and kindly treated. The Dutch governor, receiving intelligence of their circumstances, determined to redeem them at any rate, and despatched a sloop to Pequot harbour for that purpose. Upon its arrival, the Dutch made large offers for their redemption, but the Pequots would not accept them. Finally, as the Dutch had a number of Pequots on board, whom they had taken, and finding that they could do no better, they offered the Pequots six of their own men for the two maids. These they accepted, and the Dutch delivered the young women at Saybrook, just before captain Mason and his party arrived. Of them he received particular information respecting the enemy.

An Indian runner, despatched by Mr. Williams, at Providence, soon carried the news of the success of Connecticut against the Pequots, to the governor of Massachusetts. The governor and his council, judging that the Pequots had received a capital blow, sent forward but a hundred and twenty men. These were commanded by Mr. Stoughton, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Boston, was sent his chaplain.

This party arrived at Pequot harbour the latter part of June. By the assistance of the Narraganset Indians, the party under captain Stoughton surrounded a large body of Pequots in a swamp. They took eighty captives. Thirty were men; the rest were women and children. The men, except two sachems, were killed, but the women and children were saved. The sachems promised to conduct the English to Sassacus, and for that purpose were spared for the present.

The court at Connecticut ordered that forty men should be raised forthwith for the further prosecution of the war against the Pequots, to be commanded by captain Mason.

The troops from Connecticut made a junction with the party under the command of captain Stoughton, at Pequot. Mr. Ludlow, with other principal gentlemen from Connecticut, went also with the army, to advise with respect to the measures to be adopted in the further prosecution of the war. Upon

general consultation, it was concluded to pursue the Pequots, who had fled to the westward. The army marched immediately, and soon discovered the places, where the enemy had rendezvouzed, at their several removes. As these were not far distant from each other, it appeared that they moved slowly, having their women and children with them. They also were without provisions, and were obliged to dig for clams, and to range the groves for such articles as they afforded. The English found some scattering Pequots, as they scoured the country, whom they captivated, and from whom they obtained intelligence relative to the Pequots whom they were pursuing. But finding, that the sachems, whom they had spared, would give them no information, they beheaded them, on their march, at a place called Menunkatuck, since Guilford; from which circumstance, the spot on which the execution was done, bears the name of Sachem's Head to the present time. In three days they arrived at New Haven harbour. The vessels sailed along the shore while the troops marched by land. At New Haven, then called Quinnipiack, a great smoke, at a small distance, was discovered in the woods. The officers supposing, that they had now discovered the enemy, ordered the army immediately to advance upon them; but were soon informed that they were not in that vicinity. The Connecticut Indians had kindled the fires whence the smoke arose. The troops soon embarked on board the vessels. After staying several days at New Haven, the officers received intelligence from a Pequot, whom they had previously sent to make discovery, that the enemy were at a considerable distance, in a great swamp, to the westward. Upon this information, the army marched with all possible despatch to a great swamp, in Fairfield, where were eighty or a hundred Pequot warriors, and nearly two hundred other Indians. The swamp was such a thicket, so deep and boggy, that it was difficult to enter it, or make any movement without sinking in the mire. Lieutenant Davenport and others, rushing eagerly into it, were sorely wounded, and several were soon so deep in the mud, that they could not get out without assistance. The enemy pressed them so hard, that they were just ready to seize them by the hair of their head. A number of brave men were obliged to rescue them sword in hand. Some of the Indians were slain, and the men were drawn out of the mire. The swamp was surrounded, and after a considerable skirmish, the Indians desired a parley. As the officers were not willing to make a promiscuous destruction of men, women and children, and as the sachem and Indians of the vicinity had fled into the swamp, though they had done the colonies no injury, a parley was granted. Thomas Stanton, a man well acquainted with

the manners and language of the Indians, was sent to treat with them. He was authorized to offer life to all the Indians who had shed no English blood. Upon this offer, the sachem of the place came out to the English, and one company of old men, women and children after another, to the number of about two hundred.

The sachem of the place declared for himself and his Indians, that they had never shed the blood of the English, nor done them any harm. But the Pequot warriors had too great a spirit to accept of the offer of life, declaring, that they would fight it out. They shot their arrows at Stanton, and pressed so hard upon him, that the soldiers were obliged to fly to his rescue. The fight was then renewed, the soldiers firing upon them whenever an opportunity presented. But by reason of an unhappy division among the officers, a great part of the enemy escaped. Some were for forcing the swamp immediately, but this was opposed, as too dangerous. Others were for cutting it down, as they had taken many hatchets, with which they were of the opinion it might be effected. Some others were for making a pallisado and hedge round it, but neither of these measures could be adopted. As night came on, the English cut through a narrow part of it, by which the circumference was greatly lessened; so that the soldiers, at twelve feet distance from each other, were able completely to compass the enemy. In this manner they enclosed and watched them until it was nearly morning. A thick fog arose just before day, and it became exceedingly dark. At this juncture, the Indians took the opportunity to break through the English. They made their first attempt upon captain Patrick's quarters, yelling in their hideous manner, and pressing on with violence, but they were several times driven back. As the noise and tumult of war increased, captain Mason sent a party to assist captain Patrick. Captain Trask also marched to reinforce him. As the battle greatly increased, the siege broke up. Captain Mason marched to give assistance in the action. Advancing to the turn of the swamp, he found that the enemy were pressing out upon him; but he gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon glad to retire. While he was expecting that they would make another attempt upon him, they faced about, and falling violently on captain Patrick, broke through his quarters and fled. These were their bravest warriors, sixty or seventy of whom made their escape. About twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty were taken prisoners. The English also took hatchets, wampum, kettles, trays and other Indian utensils.

The Pequot women and children, who had been captivated, were divided among the troops. Some were carried to Con-

necticut, and others to the Massachusetts. The people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West-Indies, and sold them for slaves. It was supposed that about seven hundred Pequots were destroyed. The women who were captivated, reported, that thirteen sachems had been slain, and that thirteen yet survived. Among the latter were Sassacus and Mononotto, the two chief sachems. These with about twenty of their best men fled to the Mohawks. They carried off with them wampum to the amount of 500 pounds. The Mohawks surprised and slew them all, except Mononotto. They wounded him, but he made his escape. The scalp of Sassacus was sent to Connecticut in the fall, and Mr. Ludlow and several other gentlemen, going into Massachusetts, in September, carried a lock of it to Boston, as a rare sight, and a sure demonstration of the death of their mortal enemy.

Among the Pequot captives were the wife and children of Mononotto. She was particularly noticed, by the English, for her great modesty, humanity and good sense. She made it as her only request, that she might not be injured either as to her offspring or personal honor. As a requital of her kindness to the captivated maids, her life and the lives of her children were not only spared, but they were particularly recommended to the care of governor Winthrop. He gave charge for their protection and kind treatment.

After the swamp fight, the Pequots became so weak and scattered, that the Narragansets and Moheagans constantly killed them, and brought in their heads to Windsor and Hartford. Those who survived were so hunted and harassed, that a number of their chief men repaired to the English, at Hartford, for relief. They offered, if their lives might be spared, that they would become the servants of the English, and be disposed of at their pleasure. This was granted, and the court interposed for their protection.

Uncas and Miantonimoh, with the Pequots, by the direction of the magistrates of Connecticut, met at Hartford; and it was demanded by them, how many of the Pequots were yet living? they answered, about two hundred, besides women and children. The magistrates then entered into a firm covenant with them, to the following effect: that there should be perpetual peace between Miantonimoh and Uncas, and their respective Indians; and that all past injuries should be remitted, and for ever buried: that if any injuries should be done, in future, by one party to the other, that they should not immediately revenge it, but appeal to the English to do them justice. It was stipulated, that they should submit to their determination, and that if either party should be obstinate, that then they might enforce submission to their decisions. It was

further agreed, that neither the Moheagans, nor Narragansets should conceal, nor entertain any of their enemies; but deliver up or destroy all such Indians as had murdered any English man or woman. The English then gave the Pequot Indians to the Narragansets and Moheagans; eighty to Miantonimoh, twenty to Ninnigret, and the other hundred to Uncas; to be received and treated as their men. It was also covenanted, that the Pequots should never more inhabit their native country, nor be called Pequots, but Narragansets and Moheagans. It was also further stipulated, that neither the Narragansets nor Moheagans should possess any part of the Pequot country without the consent of the English. The Pequots were to pay a tribute, at Connecticut, annually, of a fathom of wampumpeag for every Sannop, of half a fathom for every young man, and of a hand for every male papoose. On these conditions the magistrates, in behalf of the colony, stipulated a firm peace with all the Indians.

The conquest of the Pequots struck all the Indians in New-England with terror, and they were possessed with such fear of the displeasure and arms of the English, that they had no open war with them for nearly forty years.

This happy event gave great joy to the colonies. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed; and, in all the churches of New-England, devout and animated praises were addressed to Him, who giveth his people the victory, and causeth them to dwell safely.

The war with the Pequots led to the discovery of Quinnapiack (now New Haven.) Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Davenport, and several others commenced a settlement; and on the 18th of April, 1638, they kept the first sabbath in that place. They assembled under a large spreading oak; and Mr. Davenport preached to them from Matthew 6: 1.

On the first of June, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, was a great earthquake throughout New England. The shock was so great, that a number of chimneys were thrown down; the earth by turns was unquiet for fifteen days.

In addition to the town of New Haven, several other towns were soon commenced, which were included in this colony. In 1639, commenced the towns of Guilford, and Milford. Stamford was settled in 1641; soon after began the town of Branford. Some settlements on Long Island were included in the colony of New Haven.

The colony of New-Hampshire, which now holds a distinguished rank among the New-England States, though its settlement began at a very early period, did not become a separate colony till many years after that settlement commenced. Capt. Smith, of Virginia, who sailed along the shore of

New England in 1614, and published a chart of the coast, with some account of the country, discovered the river Piscataqua. He found the river to be large, the harbor capacious and safe, and gave a favourable representation of the place as a site for a new plantation.

Gorges and Mason, two members of the council of Plymouth, in England, having obtained from the council a grant of that tract of country, attempted the establishment of a colony and fishery at the river Piscataqua. In the spring of the year 1623, they sent over a few persons for this purpose, who sat down on the south side of the river near its mouth, and there fixed a temporary residence. This was the beginning of the excellent and flourishing town of Portsmouth. The same year, two of the company erected a fish-house at the place of the present town of Dover. These settlements, for several years, were small, and scarcely permanent. In 1629, some of the settlers about the Massachusetts-Bay, wishing to unite with the settlement at Piscataqua, they assembled the chiefs of several Indian tribes at Squamscot falls, now Exeter, and, for a valuable consideration, made a purchase of an extensive tract of land. In the instrument of conveyance, the natives express a "desire to have the English come and settle among them, as among their countrymen in Massachusetts." After this purchase, the plantation had a moderate increase, but no new settlements were made till the year 1638, which was the beginning of the town of Exeter and Hampton.

The people at Dover early erected a convenient meeting-house, which was afterwards improved as a fortification. A church was soon organized, of a character similar to the churches in the neighbouring colonies; and Mr. William Leverich, a worthy and able puritan divine, came from England in 1633, and became their minister. The settlement at Portsmouth, in their infant state, erected a house for divine worship, and enjoyed, successively, the labours of several faithful ministers. The ministry of one of these, Mr. James Parker, was attended with much success. But the town had no settled minister till a number of years after its settlement.

The people who made the settlement of Exeter, in 1638, were mostly from Boston. Having been regularly dismissed from the church in that town, they immediately united in a church relation, on the principles of their mother church. As they judged their settlement to be without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they formed themselves into a body politic, chose rulers and assistants, who were sworn to the proper execution of their respective offices, and a correspondent oath of obedience was taken by the people. In this political compact, we have an instance of civil government in its simplest, per-

haps, in its purest form. The magistrates, who were few, were vested with legislative, judicial, and executive authority. The settlements at Portsmouth and Dover, for several years, were governed, principally, by agents sent over by the proprietors in England. Having experienced many inconveniences from this mode of government, they, separately, forming a civil-compact, after the example of their neighbours at Exeter, enacted and enforced their own laws. The combination at Dover was similar to the one at Exeter; at Portsmouth they had a chief magistrate, annually elected, styled a governor.

These settlements for many years, lived peaceably with the natives, and, from their great advantages for fishery, experienced less of the evils of famine than the neighbouring colonies. Placed in distinct civil communities, they soon found themselves exposed to a variety of difficulties, and peculiarly defenceless in the event of trouble from an enemy. Their corporations were necessarily weak, and exposed to the intrusion of vagrants and outlaws, who would not submit to the steady government which was maintained in the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. Had these political combinations been left to the management of their original framers and their posterity, they might have exhibited an example of the finest republics on historic record. But the constant influx of immigrants, and of demagogues invited by their weakness, rendered this expectation hopeless. These considerations induced the settlement to desire a union with the colony of Massachusetts. The subject having been for some time in agitation, in the year 1641, the settlements on and near the Piscataqua, submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on condition of enjoying equal privileges with the people of that colony, and having a court of justice maintained among themselves. They were cordially accepted by that government, and thus, by a solemn compact, became a part of the colony of Massachusetts.—From this time, the settlements advanced in a more rapid progress, and in greater security; and their civil and ecclesiastical history becomes one with the colony of which they now constituted a respectable portion. This union continued till the year 1679, when, by the authority of the King of Great Britain, New-Hampshire was separated from the government of Massachusetts, and became a royal province.

One of the most prominent characters in the early history of New-England, was Roger Williams. He was a man of considerable ability and learning, active and diligent in his pursuits, humane and benevolent in his character, ever fond of novelty and change. Previous to his coming to America, Mr. Williams was a minister in the Church of England. He came to New-England in the year 1631, and resided two years at

Plymouth. He there exercised his ministerial functions, occasionally, to good acceptance. During his residence at Plymouth, his conduct was inoffensive, and his character naturally mild, so that he ever after retained the esteem of the people of that colony. In 1633, he removed to Salem, and, on the death of their excellent minister, Mr. Skelton, the church in that town invited Mr. Williams to become their pastor. During his connexion with the church at Salem, Mr. Williams inculcated many opinions which were disapproved by the government and churches of the colony, which it was thought would prejudice their interests in the view of the mother country, and destroy that system of civil and ecclesiastical polity on which the colony existed. After much faithful and friendly dealing, Mr. Williams being unwilling to renounce or conceal the sentiments which he entertained, in 1635, he was directed by the government to depart from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He removed with a few followers, and sat down within the Plymouth jurisdiction, in the present town of Rehoboth. The year following, at the desire of Governor Winslow, lest the government of Massachusetts should take umbrage at his remaining within the Plymouth jurisdiction, he crossed the Pawtucket River, and, with about twenty settlers, laid the foundation of the present opulent and flourishing town of Providence. These dissensions were conducted in such a manner, that no personal alienation appears to have taken place between Mr. Williams and Governor Winthrop, and a constant interchange of good offices existed between the Providence Plantation and the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies. In the war with the Pequods in 1637, there was a cordial co-operation of all the plantations against the common enemy. Probably no individual of the age made greater and more successful exertions to maintain the peace of the colonies with the natives; and, living in the vicinity of several powerful tribes, he was vigilant in discovering their designs, and gave the other colonies timely notice of their hostile machinations.

Mr. Williams, for some years, established no particular church order, inviting persons of all religious sentiments to unite with his rising plantation. After a few years, he and several of his people renounced the baptism of their infancy, were re-baptized, and united in a church, which was, I believe, the first Baptist church in New England. On account of differences of sentiment which, subsequently, prevailed in the church, in the year 1653, it was divided and became two churches.—Mr. Williams purchased the lands of his plantation of the Indian proprietors, and no man enjoyed their confidence in a higher degree. He was the father of the colony, and, for some time, he appears to have possessed and exercised the principal power

of government which existed. In some of the first years of the Providence plantation the people suffered very sensibly from scarcity. The product of their forests and rivers saved them from perishing by famine. The most of the fathers of New-England experienced the evils of war and famine, in a degree of which their posterity are unable to form any adequate conception.

At the time of the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson from Massachusetts, several people who had favoured her religious opinions, and of course, differed in principle from the prevailing sentiments of the churches, chose to remove from the colony. One of these was Mr. William Coddington; a gentleman of education and affluence, who had been for several years an assistant, and one of the most worthy magistrates of the Massachusetts government. In the year 1638, Mr. Coddington with a few others, removed to Narraganset Bay, and commenced the settlement of Rhode Island. These planters immediately, united in a civil compact, to which Mr. Coddington and seventeen others subscribed their names. This infant plantation furnishes an instance of something of the simplicity and natural existence of a patriarchal government. Mr. Coddington, a man of great virtue and natural dignity of character, possessing the confidence of all, was created their magistrate, to whom were delegated the necessary powers of civil government. By the friendly assistance of Mr. Williams, he purchased the island of the Indians, and in consequence of its pleasantness and fertility, in a few years, it became a flourishing settlement. In the year 1644, a Baptist church was formed in Newport, which was afterwards divided into two. A congregational church was formed in Newport in 1720; and a second one, in 1728. These two churches afterwards enjoyed the ministry of two of the most eminent American divines of the last century, President Stiles and Dr. Hopkins.

These settlements being destitute of any chartered government from the mother country, in 1643, Mr. Williams went to England, and by the assistance of Mr. Vane, who had been governor of Massachusetts, obtained a liberal charter of incorporation of Providence and Rhode Island Plantations. The form of government provided by this incorporation was essentially similar to that established in the adjacent colonies. Mr. Williams lived to a great age, and was chosen several times governor of the colony.

As early as the year 1607, some of the Patentees of the northern colony of Virginia began a settlement at the mouth of the river Sagadahock, now Kennebeck. They laid the plan of an extensive and opulent state. But in consequence of the death of the principal patrons, and the severities endured by

the planters, the settlement broke up the following year, and those who were living returned to England. The first permanent settlements made within the District of Maine, commenced about the year 1630. The oldest towns are Kittery and York. In the year 1635, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained from the council of Plymouth a grant of the tract of land lying between the rivers Sagadahock and Piscataqua. It is supposed that he instituted civil government in the province. Courts were held as early as 1636, who appear to have exercised legislative and judicial powers. In 1639, Gorges obtained from the Crown a charter, conveying the amplest powers of jurisdiction. He appointed a governor and council who administered justice to the people to their general satisfaction, for a number of years. After the death of the proprietor, these powers of government were generally supposed to have expired. The different settlements formed some kind of voluntary compacts, and elected their own rulers. But the people, soon perceiving the inconveniences of this state of things, in the year 1652, united with the government of Massachusetts, and became an integral part of that Colony.

In the first settlements, churches were early established, who enjoyed the labours of some of the worthiest ministers of their time. In general, their early civil and religious institutions were very similar to those of Massachusetts.

No part of New-England has suffered so much from the hostility of the natives, as the District of Maine. Many ferocious tribes of savages were settled on the rivers with which the country abounds, and from the small progress made by the settlements for a long period, they were unable to subdue their power, or prevent their predatory incursions. From the proximity of that district to Canada, in all the wars between England and France for a century after its first settlement, they were exposed to the hostile incursions of the savages, stimulated by a most artful and unfeeling enemy. Many of their towns have been pillaged and burnt, and many of the people made captives and slain. So late as the war of 1745, many of the towns suffered severely from savage hostility.

The State of Vermont, the youngest of the New-England States, has advanced in population and wealth more rapidly, than either of the others, and holds a respectable rank in their number. The tract of country composing that state, lying between the states of New Hampshire and New-York, to which both laid an imperfect claim, remained long unoccupied. In the year 1724, in the time of a severe Indian war, the government of Massachusetts erected Fort Dummer, within the present town of Brattleborough, and commenced a small settlement near the fort. This was then supposed to be within

the limits of Massachusetts; but, on running the province lines in 1741, it fell within the state of Vermont. In the year 1731, the French from Canada erected the well-built fort at Crown Point, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and, soon after began a settlement on the eastern side of the lake opposite to the fort.

From the time in which the provincial line between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire was ascertained, till after the peace of 1763, when it became a subject of controversy, the territory of Vermont was considered as belonging to New Hampshire. The town of Bennington, as it is one of the best, is considered the oldest town in the state. This township was granted to certain proprietors, in the year 1749, by the Governor* of New Hampshire, and called after his name. Soon after this grant, the settlement of that town commenced. In four or five of the following years, a few other towns were granted by the government of New Hampshire, on the western side of Connecticut River. The war of 1755 put a stop to these grants and settlements. In the progress of the war, the territory of Vermont became the scene of military operations. These events produced a general acquaintance with many parts of the country, and towards the conclusion of the war, extensive grants of townships were made by the New Hampshire government, and numerous openings were made in the wilderness. From 1764 to the commencement of the American war, the new settlers were harassed with conflicting claims to their territory, maintained by the provinces of New Hampshire and New-York. Notwithstanding these embarrassments the infant settlements gradually increased by emigrations from the several New-England provinces. At the commencement of the war of 1775, the people of Vermont warmly espoused the American cause, and during its continuance performed many important services. As the authority of the royal governments became disavowed, the people finding themselves wholly destitute of any bonds of civil government, public sentiment naturally adverted to the necessity of some political regulations for the general safety. There having been several conventions of committees of towns, to deliberate on measures to be pursued, in January, 1777, a convention of delegates from the respective towns, held at Westminster, resolved that the territory now included in that state, should "be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction of state: to be for ever hereafter called, known, and distinguished, by the name of New Connecticut, alias Vermont." From this period, Vermont became

* Benning Wentworth.

an independent state; and in 1791, was admitted a member of the American union.

The settlers of Vermont were mostly emigrants from Connecticut, and for several years after the peace of 1783, their number increased with an unprecedented rapidity. Their civil and religious institutions were generally copied from those existing in Connecticut. A congregational church was early established at Bennington, and continued many years under the ministry of the pious and worthy Mr. Dewey. In most of the towns, churches were established at an early period of their settlement, who have enjoyed the labours of many able and faithful ministers of Christ. The churches and ministers in Vermont have been remarkable for uniformity in religious sentiment and practice; conformable to the Calvinistic system, and to the doctrines of the gospel so ably vindicated by several New-England divines of the last century. The late Dr. Job Swift, who has been styled the Apostle of Vermont, not more distinguished for abilities and piety than for indefatigable labours, was an eminent instrument of organizing and establishing the churches and religious institutions of the state, and was an unshaken pillar of divine truth, in the midst of his labours in the service of his Master and his fellow-men, was suddenly removed to his eternal rest. The churches and people of the state have been favoured with many gracious manifestations of the special influences of the Holy Spirit, in reviving the interests of vital religion, and bringing many souls into the holy kingdom of the Redeemer.

Probably no instance can be found in the history of men, where all public institutions, of a civil, moral and religious character, are held so entirely under the constant control of public sentiment, as in the state of Vermont. It is earnestly hoped, that though the merciful favour of Heaven, that people may be long worthy of the possession of the many privileges which they now enjoy.

Remarks upon the Religion of the Colony.

It is a very singular fact, that, while the English government, and all the ecclesiastical authority, were using their most vigilant exertions to suppress evangelical religion, and put an effectual stop to the progress of puritanism, and while the New-England colonies were formed for the express purpose of the promotion of these objects, they were suffered to proceed with very little molestation. The company that formed the settlement of Plymouth, having long experienced the severities of ecclesiastical tyranny, were fearful of forming a

settlement in any of the dominions of the British king, without a promise that they should not be obstructed in the free exercise of their religion. Frequent and earnest solicitations were made to the royal court for such a permission. But as such a concession would not comport with the maxims of a bigoted prince and a persecuting prelate, it was never obtained. The adventurers, therefore, committed their case to the protection of God, and they were not disappointed. The succeeding companies, though many important civil privileges were secured to them by patent, could obtain no more than indirect intimations that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the services of religion. They hoped, indeed, that the God whom they served, would remember their wants, and that the distance of three thousand miles would mitigate the rage of persecution. The religious order which they established was directly opposed to the sentiments of the government, and was such as they had long laboured to suppress. But through the interference of various causes, in which the hand of God was peculiarly visible, they were left undisturbed, till their churches had become firmly established. Archbishop Laud resolved at length, to interfere, and subject the colonies to the same ecclesiastical order as the mother country. But his death soon put an end to the design. The long period of the civil wars, and the commonwealth which then succeeded, enabled the ecclesiastical institutions of the colonies to acquire such a consistence as could not easily be dissolved. That remarkable interval in the English monarchy, of which there has been no equal in ten centuries, was the occasion of the establishment of the gospel order in the New England churches. How unsearchable and holy are the appointments of God!

The divine interposition in favour of the early settlement of this land, was signally manifest in the removal and restraint of the natives. Their disposition is naturally jealous, and almost every cause existed to excite their hostility against the colonies. This, however, was in a great measure prevented. Three years before the landing of the planters at Plymouth, an epidemical disease raged in all that part of the country with such violence, that many of their principal stations were nearly depopulated, and many of the tribes almost annihilated. Had not God thus driven out the heathen before them, that little band, few, sickly, and almost famished, to human appearance, must have become the victims of savage cruelty. In 1634, the small-pox made great desolation among the natives in the vicinity of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies. A little previous to the commencement of the Christian settlements, long wars had prevailed among several of the tribes, which had been attended with great animosity, and the severest

acts of injustice and cruelty. These animosities continued, and proved an insuperable obstacle to a general union for the extirpation of the colonies. While many of the most artful and implacable savages were ever labouring to effect such a combination, their enemies would reveal their machinations to the English, and would frequently form alliances with them against the power of their ancient oppressors. Thus, there was never any general Indian war till more than forty years after the settlement of the colonies. They had then become able to resist all their force.

In many individual occurrences, the special interposition of Heaven, in favour of our ancestors, was eminently manifest. In several instances, they were in the utmost danger of perishing by famine, but were providentially relieved. Relief frequently appeared, when, according to all human calculations, it could not have been expected. The first winter after the arrival of the numerous company in Massachusetts, the weather was very severe, and in the depth of winter, their provisions universally failed; the first families were reduced to the last baking of bread. At this juncture, while all knees bended before God, the ship Lion, with a large supply, arrived at Boston. She had had a stormy passage, and rode amid heavy drifts of ice in the harbour. But its great Pilot brought her safe to shore.—In the drought at Plymouth, the second summer of the settlement, their corn, which was their whole dependence, appeared irrecoverably gone, the leaves and stalks were generally withered. On a day of solemn fasting, the rains of heaven began to descend in a gentle and copious manner, and contrary to all expectation of English and Indians, produced a plentiful crop.—The first winter of the settlement of Connecticut, on the failure of the expected supplies, about seventy persons travelled down the river, as the only means of saving their lives, in hopes to meet their provisions. Being disappointed, they went on board a vessel, firmly bound in the ice. By a sudden thaw the vessel was soon released, and with a favourable passage, sailed in five days to Boston. They could not have subsisted five days longer. In the war with the Pequots, it was scarcely less evident that God fought for his people, than in the most successful wars of his ancient Israel.

The special agency of God in behalf of our fathers, appears in preserving them from sinking in despondency. Never were such trials, such discouragements, such fearful dangers, appointed for any other people. But they were never disheartened; they never sunk under their difficulties or prospects; they never regretted that they had undertaken this great design, and they never lost their confidence that God would do good things for his churches in New England. Oftentimes, nothing

apeared before them but remediless ruin, yet their great maxim ever was, *Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vine; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.*

In 1656, Quakers made their first appearance in the Massachusetts colony; but the Legislature passed laws for their banishment; but as the colony continued to be molested, it was enacted, that any Quaker returning from banishment to renew his practices against the colony should be put to death. Under this law four persons were executed.

Any master of any vessel that should bring any of this sect into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts should be subject to a fine of one hundred pounds.

The Roman Catholics first came to America in 1632.

The first Baptist Church in America, was formed at Providence, in 1639.

Manners and Customs.—The laws of the colonies, in 1639, prohibited the custom of drinking healths. In 1651, the legislature passed laws prohibiting all persons whose estate did not exceed two hundred pounds, from wearing any gold or silver lace or any bone lace that cost above two shillings per yard. the selectmen was authorised to take notice of the fashions the apparel of the people enpecially in wearing of ribands and great boots.

In 1647, it was ordered, that no person under the age of twenty years, should use any tobacco, unless he should bring a certificate from a Physician, that it was useful to him.

Agriculture was first attended to by clearing the forests; by cutting down the trees, and digging up the stumps, before tillage. The first neat cattle were brought into New England by Mr. Winslow in 1624. In 1633 the cattle in Virginia had increased to about 1000 head. They also raised a large quantity of wheat and rye; some peas, beans, flax and hemp.

Commerce.—The colony imported all their merchandise from England: and exported thither peltry, tobacco, beef, pork, grain, and fish. The importations from England much exceeded the exports thither. The skins of deer, elk, buffalo, and the furs of others, hare, fox, muskrat, and beaver, were purchased of the Indians, for rum, blankets, &c. and exported to England.

Arts and Manufactures.—In 1620, 100 persons came from England, to carry on the Manufacture of silk, potash, tar, pitch, glass, and salt; but did not succeed. All cordage, sail cloth, and mats, came from England. Brick and framed houses were soon built in large towns. The first mill was a wind will, built

near Watertown. The first vessel was built in Massachusetts; which was called the Blessing of the Bay. In 1633, a ship of 60 tons was built at Medford. In 1636, one was built of 120 tons at Marblehead. In 1641, one was built at Salem, of 300 tons, and another of 160 tons, at Boston.

Printing was first introduced in 1639. The first thing printed was the Freeman's Oath; the next an Almanac; the third a collection of Psalms.

Education.—Scacely had the people opened the forest, and constructed habitations, before they directed their attention towards the education of their children. Schools were free to all classes of people; the poor had the same advantage in educating their children as the rich.

Population of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont was estimated at about 75000.

But it is impossible to ascertain very exactly the population of the American colonies at the close of this period. The estimates made by writers are vague. and often contradictory. It is worthy of particular notice, that so small a population, scattered over such an extent of country, should have been able to conquer so many Indians and thereby save themselves from savage destruction.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

Part Second.

CHAPTER IV.

Discovery and Progress of the Middle and Southern States.

NEW YORK.

The reader's first attention in this second part, will be directed to the settlement of New York.

Captain Henry Hudson, commissioned by the King in 1608, sailed in the employment of several London merchants, to North America. He came upon the coast in about forty degrees of north latitude, and made a discovery of Long Island and Hudson river. He proceeded up the river, as far as the latitude of forty-three, and called it by his own name.

About two years after, he made a second voyage to the river in the service of a number of Dutch merchants; and some time after, sold his right to them. The right to the country however belonged to king James, by virtue of the discovery which Hudson had made under his commission. The English protested against the sale. But the Dutch in 1614, built a fort nearly on the same ground where Albany now stands, which they called fort Auranea.

Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, directly after despatched captain Argall to dispossess the Dutch, and they submitted to the King of England, and under the governor of Virginia.

But receiving a reinforcement the next year, they again asserted the right of Holland to the country, and erected fort Amsterdam on the south end of the Island. The English for many years did not interfere.

In 1621, an extensive territory on both sides of the Hudson was granted to the Dutch West India company, and called

New Netherlands. The boundaries were considered by the company as including Connecticut river on the North, and Delaware river on the South. In 1623, they erected a fort on the Delaware, which they called Nassau; and in 1633, they erected another on Connecticut, which they called Good Hope. Near the former the Swedes had a settlement; and a quarrel arose between the settlers which continued for many years which terminated in the subjugation of the Swedes.

NEW JERSEY.

The first settlement of New Jersey was made by the Danes, about the year 1624. Soon afterwards, several Dutch families seated themselves in the vicinity of New York. In 1626, a company was formed in Sweden, under the patronage of King Gustavus Adolphus, for the purpose of planting a colony in America.

The next year a number of Swedes and Finns came over, and made a settlement on the west bank of the Delaware river.

In 1640, the English began a plantation on the eastern bank. The Swedes in concert with the Dutch who possessed New York drove them out the country.

DELAWARE.

This state was settled by a company of Swedes and Finns, under the patronage of of King Gustavus Adolphus.

In 1627, they landed at Cape Henlopen, and were so charmed with its appearance, that they gave it the name of Paradise Point. The country they called New Sweden, and the river Delaware New Swedeland stream. They purchased of the Indians the lands on both sides of that river, from the sea to the falls; and seated themselves at the mouth of Christian creek, near Wilmington. Being frequently molested by the Dutch, who claimed a right to the country, they for their protection, built forts at Christian, Lewistown, and Tinicum. The last was their seat of government, and John Printz, their Governor, erected an elegant mansion at this place, which he named Printz Hall.

MARYLAND.

This state was settled by one Calvert, who sailed for America near the close of 1633, accompanied by about two hundred emigrants, chiefly Roman Catholics.

They arrived in February, 1634, at the mouth of the river

Potomac. At a conference with the Indians, who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village; the site which St. Mary's now occupies.

This colony as well as all others, in the early period of their existence, was afflicted with troubles; they were principally caused by one William Clayborne. While a member of the Virginia council, he had obtained a license from the King to traffic in those parts of America where no other person enjoyed the exclusive right of trade. Under this license he had made a small settlement on the Island of Kent, and when the grant was made to Lord Baltimore, refused to submit to his authority. He persuaded the natives that the new comers were Spaniards, and enemies to the Virginians. An Indian war was the consequence, which continued for several years, with great distress. Clayborne was indicted and convicted of murder, piracy and sedition, and fleeing from justice his estate was confiscated. He applied to the King for redress, but did not succeed. When the civil war between the King and Parliament began, he embraced the cause of the latter; returned to Maryland, and by his intrigues fomented in 1645 a rebellion against its rulers, who were attached to the royal cause. Calvert the Governor was compelled to fly to Virginia, and the insurgents seized the reins of government. The next year, however, the revolt was suppressed and tranquillity restored.

NORTH CAROLINA.

In 1630, Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath all the territory between the 30th and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic ocean to the south sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant no settlement was made. In 1640, some persons fled from Virginia and without license from any source, occupied that portion of North Carolina north of Albemarle sound. In 1661, another settlement was made near the mouth of Clarendon river, by adventurers from Massachusetts. The land being sterile, and the Indians hostile, they soon abandoned it.

GEORGIA.

In June 1732, several gentlemen in England proposed to transport thither all the indigent subjects of Great Britain. To a project springing from so good motives, the people and the government extended their encouragement and patronage. A patent was granted by the King, conveying to twenty one trustees the territory now constituting the state of Georgia, which was to be apportioned gratuitously among the people,

and donations were made for the purpose of conveying them thither and their support the first season.

In November one hundred and thirty emigrants embarked for Georgia; in January they arrived at Charleston. The Carolinians gave the adventurers a cordial welcome; they supplied them with provisions and boats to carry them to the place of their destination; and on the 9th of February, they erected the first house, where Savannah now stands.

History of the whole colonies of America, Combined, from 1661.

Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had sentenced king Charles I. to be beheaded, having fled before his successor's return, arrived at Boston, and were treated with great respect. But no sooner was it known that the judges had been condemned as traitors, than governor Endicott called a court of Magistrates to consult on measures for apprehending them; but the majority opposed it. Some of the council declared, that they would stand by them; others advised them to move out of the colony. Accordingly they removed to New Haven, and made Mr. Davenport's house their residence. They were treated with the same esteem and friendship at New Haven as at Massachusetts, but it was not long before orders were received from the King to arrest them, wherever they might be found. The governor of Massachusets issued his warrant to arrest them, but the judges had such faithful friends, that a search was made to no purpose.

Before the session of the general assembly of Connecticut, in October, 1662, the charter was brought over. Upon the day of the election, the charter was publicly read to the freemen, and declared to belong to them and their successors. They then prodeeded to make choice of Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Talcott, and Mr. Allen, to receive the charter into custody, and keep it in behalf of the colony.

In 1663, a tax of three hundred pounds was levied upon the colony. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed; the colony was much in debt; many were dissatisfied with the governor, and refused to pay any thing for his support.

No sooner did the officers begin to distrain the rates of those who refused to pay, than it produced the most alarming consequences. The gentlemen from Connecticut remonstrated against collecting taxes from those who had been taken under the protection of that colony, and desired New Haven to suspend the affair for further consideration.

Colonel Nichols arrived at Boston with a fleet and troops under his command, July 23, 1664. He immediately communicated his commission to the colonies, and requested the troops

to assist him against the Dutch. He then sailed for New Netherlands and on the 20th of August made a demand upon the town and forts upon the Island of Manhadoes, Governor Winthrop, with several gentlemen from Connecticut, joined him, according to his wishes. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, was an old soldier, and had he been prepared, doubtless would have made a brave defence. He was extremely opposed to a surrender of the fort and town, but the opposition party outnumbered him, and he was obliged to submit on the 27th of August.

After the reduction of the Dutch, colonel Nichols fixed his residence at New York, to manage the affairs of Government. About 1664, a settlement commenced on the east side of Connecticut river. In 1667 Lyme was made a distinct town. In this and the next year several new settlements were made and new towns incorporated. On the 20th of May 1662, a purchase was made of the Indians, and East Haddam settled by twenty eight persons. In the session of May 1670, it was enacted that Massacoe should be called Simsbury. At the same term New Haven village was incorporated, and made a town by the name of Wallingford. In 1643, war had been declared in England against the Dutch. The colony was put into a state of defence, and it was ordered that a troop of horse should be raised in each county. On the 30th of July, a small Dutch fleet arrived at New York. One John Manning, who commanded the fort and Island treacherously delivered them to the enemy, without firing a gun or attempting the least resistance.

Scarcely had the colonies recovered from their calamities, before new and more terrible alarm and destruction presented themselves to all the colonies of New England. On the first of July, 1674, the Duke of York commissioned Sir Edmund Andross to be governor of New York, and all New England. Sir Edmund was a tyrant over the people, but New England refused to submit to this man as their ruler. It was soon discovered that Sir Edmund Andross was about to make a hostile invasion on the colony, and to demand its surrender. Detachments from the military were sent to New London and Saybrook. Captain Thomas Bull of Hartford, commanded the party a Saybrook. About the 9th of July 1675, the people of that town were suprised by the appearance of Major Andross, with an armed force in the sound, making directly for the fort. The fort was soon manned, and militia called out for its defence ; at this moment, Captain Bull arrived, which gave them fresh courage. On the 11th Major Andross hoisted the King's flag on board, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town ; Captain Bull raised his majesty's colors and prepared for defence. The Major did not like to fire on the King's colors, and

thought it would be a bloody affair to reduce the town by force. Early in the morning of the 12th, Sir Edmund desired to be admitted on shore.

Captain Bull met the Major at his landing, and requested a treaty. The major rejected the proposal, and commanded in his majesty's name that the Dukes patent and his commission should be read. Captain Bull, in his majesty's name, commanded him to forbear reading. When his clerk attempted to proceed, Captain Bull again repeated his command with such energy, that it convinced the Major it was not safe to proceed. The Captain then acquainted him that he had an address from the assembly and read his protest.

Governor Andross pleased with his bold and soldier like appearance, said "What is your name?" He replied "My name is Bull, Sir." "Bull," said the Governor,—"It is a pity your horns are not tipped with silver." Finding he could make no impression upon the people he soon sailed for New York.

In the year 1675, began the famous Indian war; which was termed King Philip's war.

The leading one was Philip, sachem of the tribe living within the boundary of Plymouth, Rhode Island. His brother being suspected of plotting against the whites, was seized by a detacement of soldiers. Philip ever sought to revenge the treatment of his brother. He succeeded in forming a confederacy able to send into action between three and four thousand warriors.

The immediate cause of the war was the execution of three Indians by the English, whom Philip had excited to murder one Sausaman, an Indian missionary. Sausaman, being friendly to the English, had informed them that Philip, with several tribes, was plotting their destruction.

The execution of these Indians roused the anger of Philip, who immediately armed his men, and commenced hostilities. Their first attack was made June 24th, upon the people of Swanzey, in Plymouth colony, as they were returning home from public worship, on a day of humiliation and prayer, under the apprehension of the approaching war. Eight or nine persons were killed.

The country was immediately alarmed, and the troops of the colony flew to the defence of Swanzey. On the 28th, the company of horse and company of foot, with one hundred and ten volunteers from Boston, joined the Plymouth forces at Swanzey. The next morning an attack was made upon some of Philip's men, who were pursued, and five or six of them killed. This resolute conduct of the English made a deep impression on the enemy. Philip with his forces left Mount Hope the same

night—marking his route, however, with the burning of houses, and the scalping of the defenceless inhabitants.

It being known that the Narragansets favoured the cause of Philip, he having sent his women and children to them for protection, the Massachusetts forces under Capt. Hutchinson, proceeded forhwith into their country, to renew a treaty with them or to give them battle. Fortunately, a treaty was concluded, and the troops returned.

On the 17th of July, news arrived that Philip, with his warriors, was in a swamp at Pocasset, now Tiverton. The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces immediately marched to that place, and the next day resolutely charged the enemy in their recesses. As the troops entered the swamps, the Indians continued to retire. The English in vain pursued, till the approach of night, when the commander ordered a retreat. Many of the English were killed, and the enemy seemed to take courage.

It being impossible to encounter the Indians with advantage in the swamps, it was determined to starve them out; but Philip, apprehending their design, contrived to escape with his forces.

He now fled to the Nipmucks, a tribe in Worcester county, Massachusetts, whom he induced to assist him. This tribe had already commenced hostilities against the English; but, in the hope of reclaiming them, the Governor and council sent Captains Wheeler and Hutchinson to treat with them. But the Indians, having intimation of their coming, lurked in ambush for them, fired upon them as they approached, killed eight men, and mortally wounded eight more, of whom Capt. Hutchinson was one.

The remainder of the English fled to Quaboag, Brookfield. The Indians however, closely pursued them into the town, and burnt every house excepting one, in which the inhabitants had taken refuge. This house at length they surrounded. "For two days they continued to pour a storm of musket balls upon it, and although countless numbers pierced through the walls, but one person was killed. With long poles, they next thrust against it brands, and rags dipped in brimstone; they shot arrows of fire; they loaded a cart with flax and tow, and with long poles fastened together, they pushed it against the house. Destruction seemed inevitable. The house was kindling, and the savages stood ready to destroy the first that should open the door to escape. At this awful moment, a torrent of rain descended, and suddenly extinguished the kindling flames."

August 4th, Major Willard came to their relief, raised the siege, and destroyed a considerable number of the assailants.

During the month of September, Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield, on Connecticut river, were attacked; several of the inhabitants were killed, and many buildings consumed. On the 18th, Captain Lathrop, with several teams and eighty young men, the flower of the county of Essex, were sent to Deerfield to transport a quantity of grain to Hadley. On their return, stopping to gather grapes at Muddy Brook, they were suddenly attacked by near eight hundred Indians. Resistance was in vain, and seventy of these young men fell before the merciless enemy, and were buried in one grave. Captain Mosely, who was at Deerfield, hearing the report of the guns, hastened to the spot, and with a few men, attacked the Indians, killed ninety-six, and wounded forty, losing himself but two men.

Early in October, the Springfield Indians, who had hitherto been friendly to the English, concerted a plan, with the hostile tribes, to burn that town. Having, under cover of night, received two or three hundred of Philip's men into their fort, with the assistance of these, they set fire to the town. The plot, however, was discovered so seasonably, that troops arrived from Westfield, in time to save the town, excepting thirty two houses already consumed.

Soon after hostilities were commenced by Philip, the Tarrenteens began their depredations in New Hampshire, and the Province of Maine. They robbed the boats and plundered the houses of the English. In September they fell on Saco, Scarborough, and Kittery, killed between twenty and thirty of the inhabitants, and consigned their houses, barns, and mills to the flames.

Elated with these successes, they next advanced towards Piscataqua, committing the same outrages at Oyster river, Salmon Falls, Dover and Exeter. Before winter, sixty of the English, in that quarter, were killed, and nearly as many buildings consumed.

The Indians in those parts, however, had real ground of complaint. Some seamen, hearing it reported that Indian children could swim by instinct, overset the canoe of Squando, sachem of the Saco Indians, in which were his squaw and infant child. This act Squando could not overlook, especially as some time after the child died, and, as the sachem believed, on account of some injury that it then received. Besides this, several Indians had been enticed on board a vessel, carried off, and sold into slavery. To redress these wrongs, the Indians commenced hostilities.

Notwithstanding the Narragansets had pledged themselves by their treaty, not to engage in the war against the English, it was discovered that they were taking part with the enemy.

It was deemed necesary, therefore, for the safety of the colonies, early to check that powerful tribe.

Accordingly, governor Winslow of Plymouth, with about one thousand eight hundred troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and one hundred and sixty friendly Indians, commenced their march from Pettyquamscot, on the 19th of December, 1675, through a deep snow, towards the enemy, who were in a swamp about fifteen miles distant.

The army arrived at the swamp at one in the afternoon. Some Indians at the edge of the swamp were fired upon, but fled. The whole army now entered and pursued the Indians to their fortress.

This stood on a rising ground, in the middle of the swamp. It was a work of great strength and labour, being composed of palisades, and surrounded by a hedge about sixteen feet in thickness.

One entrance only led to the fort, through the surrounding thicket. Upon this the English providentially fell; and without wanting to form, rushed impetuously towards the fort. The English captains entered first. The resistance of the Indians was gallant and warlike. Captains Johnson and Davenport, with many of their men, fell at the entrance. At length the English gave back, and were obliged to retreat out of the fort.

At this crisis, the army being on the point of a fatal repulse, some Connecticut men, on the opposite side of the fort, discovered a place destitute of palisades; they instantly sprang into the fort, fell upon the rear of the Indians, and, aided by the rest of the army, after a desperate conflict, achieved a complete victory. Six hundred wigwams were now set on fire. The scene was awful. Deep volumes of smoke rolled up to heaven, mingling with the dying shrieks of mothers and infants, while the aged and infirm were consuming in the flames.

Even at this distant period, we cannot recall this scene without pain, and can justify the severity of our ancestors, only by admitting its necessity for self-preservation.

The Indians in the fort were estimated at four thousand; of these seven hundred warriors were killed, and three hundred died of their wounds; three hundred were taken prisoners, and as many women and children. The rest, except such as were consumed, fled.

The victory of the English, complete as it was, was purchased with blood. Six brave captains fell; eighty of the troops were killed or mortally wounded; and one hundred and fifty were wounded, who recovered.

From this defeat, the Indians never recovered. They were not yet, however, effectually subdued. During the winter they

still continued to murder and burn. The towns of Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Groton, Springfield, Northampton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, and Warwick and Providence in Rhode-Island, were assulted, and some of them partly, and others wholly destroyed. In March, Captain Pierce, with fifty English, and twenty friendly Indians, were attacked, and every Englishman, and most of the Indians were slain. In April, Captain Wadsworth, marching with fifty men to the relief of Sudbury, was surrounded, and all either killed on the spot, or reserved for long and distressing tortures.

The success of the Indians, during the winter, had been great; but on the return of spring the tide turned against them. The Narraganset country was scoured, and many of the natives were killed, among whom was Canonchet, their chief sachem.

On the 12th of August, 1676, the finishing stroke was given to the war in the United colonies, by the death of Philip. After his flight from Mount Hope, he had attempted to rouse the Mohawks against the English. To effect his purpose, he killed at several times, some of that tribe, and laid it to the English. But his iniquity was discovered, and he was obliged hastily to flee. He returned at length to Mount Hope.

Tidings of his return were brought to Captain Church, a man who had been of eminent service in this war, and who was better able than any other person to provide against the wiles of the enemy. Capt. Church immediately proceeded to the place of Philip's concealment, near Mount Hope, accompanied by a small body of men. On his arrival, which was in the night, he placed his men in ambushes ronnd the swamp, charging them not to move till daylight, that they might distinguish Philip, should he attempt to escape. Such was his confidence of success, that taking Major Sandford by the hand, he said, "It is scarcely possible that Philip should escape." At that instant, a bullet whistled over their heads, and a volley followed.

The firing proceeded from Philip, and his men, who were in view. Perceiving his peril, the savage chief. desperately snatched his powder horn and gun, and ran fiercely towards the spot where an Englishman and Indian lay concealed.—The English soldier levelled his gun, but it missed fire: the Indian fired, and shot Philip through the heart.

Captain Church ordered him to be beheaded, and quartered, The Indian who executed this order, pronounced the warrior's epitaph, "You have been one very great man. You have made many a man afraid of you. But so big as you be, I will now chop you to pieces."

Thus fell a savage hero and patriot—of whose transcendant abilities our history furnishes melancholy evidence.—The ad-

vantage of civilized education, and a wider theatre of action, might have made the name of Philip of Mount Hope, as memorable as that of Alexander, or Cæsar.

After the death of Philip, the war continued in the province of Maine, till the spring of 1678. But westward, the Indians having lost their chiefs, wigwams, and provisions, and perceiving further contest vain, came in singly, by tens, and hundreds, and submitted to the English.

Thus closed a melancholy period in the annals of New England history; during which, six hundred men, the flower of her strength, had fallen; twelve or thirteen towns had been destroyed, and six hundred dwelling houses consumed. Every eleventh family was houseless, and every eleventh soldier had sunk to his grave. So costly was the inheritance which our fathers have transmitted to us.

Never was peace more welcome; for never had war been more distressing. The whole population was mourning for their relatives slain. The colonies had contracted a large debt, which, their resources having been so much diminished, they found an almost unsupportable burden; yet they forebore to apply to their mother country for assistance, which excited jealousy. "You act," said a privy counsellor: "as though you were independent;" although poor, you are proud.

In 1680, it appears that there were twenty-six towns in New England: that the militia, including horse and foot consisted of two thousand five hundred and seven men; that the annual exports were about nine thousand pounds. There were in the colony about twenty small merchants, trading to Boston, New-York, Newfoundland and the West-Indies; and the shipping consisted of four ships, three pinks, eight sloops, and other small vessels, amounting to about twenty-seven in number, the tonnage of which was only one thousand and fifty. The number of inhabitants was nearly twelve thousand.

In 1682, East Jersey passed from Carteret to William Penn, and twenty three associates, mostly of the Quaker persuasion.

In April, Penn published a frame of government. The chief object was declared to be, to support power and reverence among the people. This year, William Penn laid out Philadelphia, for his capital, which grew rapidly. In 1683, Penn held the second assembly in his new capital, and presided in the council. The lasting prosperity of Pennsylvania the foundation of which must be traced to his wisdom and benevolence, is an eloquent eulogium upon his character.

In 1684, king James established a temporary government over the colony, first appointing Joseph Dudley; and in 1686 he appointed Sir Edmund Andross to be governor of New England. Sir Edmund had been governor of New-York, and

it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical. In October, Sir Edmund, with a guard of about sixty regular troops, went to Hartford.

The assembly met, as usual, in October, and the government continued according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund, with his suit, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, when the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges, so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense, until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Hon. Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted; but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away. Sir Edmund assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed in the following words.

"At a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, knight, and captain-general and governor of his majesty's territories and dominions in New-England, by order from his majesty, James the second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being, by his majesty, annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his excellency's government."

Sir Edmund appointed officers civil and military, through the colony, according to his pleasure. He had a council, at first, consisting of about forty persons, and afterwards, of nearly fifty. Four of this number, governor Treat, John Fit-

Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen, Esquires, were of Connecticut.

Sir Edmund began his government with the most flattering professions of his regard to the public safety and happiness. He instructed the judges to administer justice, as far as might be consistent with the new regulations, according to the former laws and customs. It is, however, well observed, by governor Hutchinson, that "Nero concealed his tyrannical disposition more years, than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months." He soon laid a restraint upon the liberty of the press; and then, one far more grievous upon marriage. This was prohibited, unless bonds were previously given, with sureties, to the governor. These were to be forfeited, in case it should afterwards appear, that there was any lawful impediment to the marriage. Magistrates only were allowed to join people in the bands of wedlock. The governor not only deprived the clergy of the perquisite from marriages, but soon suspended the laws for their support, and would not suffer any person to be obliged to pay any thing to his minister. Nay, he menaced the people, that, if they resisted his will, their meeting-houses should be taken from them, and that any person who should give two pence to a non-conformist minister, should be punished.

The fees of all officers, under this new administration, were exorbitant. The common fee for the probate of a will was fifty shillings. The widow and fatherless, how distant soever, were obliged to appear at Boston, to transact all business relative to the settlement of estates. This was a grievous oppression of the poor people; especially, of the fatherless and widow.

Sir Edmund, without an assembly, nay, without a majority of his council, taxed the people at pleasure. He and Randolph, with four or five others of his creatures, who were sufficiently wicked to join with him, in all his oppressive designs, managed the affairs of government, as they pleased. But these were but the beginnings of oppression and sorrow. They were soon greatly increased and more extensively spread.

In 1688, Sir Edmund was made governor of New York, as well as of New England, and the same kind of government was exercised in that department. As the charters were now either vacated, surrendered, or the government under them suspended, it was declared, that the titles of the colonists to their lands were of no value. Sir Edmund declared, that Indian deeds were no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw." Not the fairest purchases and most ample conveyances from the natives, no dangers, disbursements nor labors, in cultivating a wilderness, and turning it into orchards, gardens,

and pleasant fields, no grants by charter, nor by legislatures constituted by them, no declarations of preceding kings, nor of his then present majesty, promising them the quiet enjoyment of their houses and lands, nor fifty or sixty years undisturbed possession, were pleas of any validity or consideration with Sir Edmund and his minions. The purchasers and cultivators, after fifty and sixty years improvement, were obliged to take out patents for their estates. For these, in some instances, a fee of fifty pounds was demanded. Writs of intrusion were issued against persons of principal character, who would not submit to such impositions, and their lands were patented to others. Governor Hutchinson observes, with respect to Massachusetts, that "men's titles were not all questioned at once. Had this been the case, according to the computation then made, all the personal estate in the colony would not have paid the charge of the new patents."

The governor, and a small number of his council, in the most arbitrary manner, fined and imprisoned numbers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and denied them the benefit of the act of habeas corpus. All town meetings were prohibited except one in the month of May, for the election of town officers, to prevent the people from consulting measures for the redress of their grievances. No person indeed was suffered to go out of the country, without leave from the governor, lest complaints should be carried to England against his administration. At the same time, he so well knew the temper and views of his royal master, that he feared little from him, even though complaints should be carried over against him. Hence he and his dependants oppressed the people, and enriched themselves without restraint.

The most humble petitions were presented to his majesty, from corporations of various descriptions, beseeching him, that the governor's council might consist of none but men of considerable property in lands; that no act might be passed to bind the people, but by a majority of the council; and that he would quiet his good subjects in the enjoyment of all property in houses and lands.* But, in the reign of James the Second, petitions so reasonable and just could not be heard. The prince, at home, and his officers abroad, like greedy harpies, preyed upon the people without control. Randolph was not ashamed to make his boast, in his letters, with respect to

* Sir Edmund, with all his vigilance, could not prevent the carrying over of complaints against him. Mr. Increase Mather, got on board a ship, and sailed to England, for this very purpose, and delivered the complaints, which he carried over, into his majesty's hands.

governor Andross and his council, "that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk." All New England groaned under their oppression. The heaviest share of it, however, fell upon the inhabitants of Massachusetts and New Plymouth. Connecticut had been less obnoxious to government, than Massachusetts, and as it was further removed from the seat of government, was less under the notice and influence of those oppressors.

Governor Treat was a father to the people, and felt for them, in their distressed circumstances. The other gentlemen, who were of the council, and had the principal management of affairs, in Connecticut, were men of principle, lovers of justice and of their fellow subjects. They took advantage of Sir Edmund's first instructions, and as far as they possibly could, consistently with the new regulations, governed the colony according to the former laws and customs. The people were patient and peaceable, though in great fear and despondency. They were no strangers to what was transacted in the neighbouring colonies, and expected soon fully to share with them, in all their miseries. It was generally believed, that Andross was a papist; that he had employed the Indians to ravage the frontiers, and had supplied them with ammunition; and that he was making preparations to deliver the country into the hands of the French. All the motives to great actions, to industry, economy, enterprise, wealth, and population, were in a manner annihilated. A general inactivity and languishment pervaded the whole public body. Liberty, property, and every thing, which ought to be dear to men, every day, grew more and more insecure. The colonies were in a state of general despondency, with respect to the restoration of their privileges, and the truth of that divine maxim, "when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn," was, in a striking manner, every where exemplified.

In 1690, war was declared between France and England. Count Frontinac was appointed Governor in Canada. In January he despatched several parties against the English settlements. One of them was sent against Albany, but resolved to attack Schenectady. The inhabitants of this village got information of their danger, but they judged it impossible for the enemy to march several hundred miles in the depth of winter, and disregarded the intelligence. No regular watch was kept, nor military order observed. The French and Indians arrived near the town on the 8th of February. On Saturday night, at eleven o'clock they entered the gates which they found open; universal silence reigned. In a few moments all the houses were in flames. Women were butchered, and children thrown alive into the flames; sixty persons perished in the flames;

twenty-five persons made prisoners; while the rest of the inhabitants fled naked. A furious storm came on. Albany, their only refuge was, at a distance. A part arrived in safety. twenty-five lost their limbs by the severity of the cold. No tongue can express the cruelties which were committed. The second party directed their course to New-Hampshire, burned the village at Salmon Falls, killed twenty-six of the bravest men, and took fifty prisoners. The third party destroyed Casco in Maine, and killed and captured ninety-five people.

To avenge these barbarities, and others perpetrated in New-England, a combined expedition against Canada was proposed. An army was raised in New-York and Connecticut, which proceeded as far as the head of Lake Champlain, but not finding boats to cross the lake, were obliged to return. Sir William Phipps, with a fleet of about 30 vessels, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and landing a body of troops, made an attack by land and water upon Quebec; but was unsuccessful.

Sir William Phipps, to whom the above expeditions were entrusted, was a native of New-England. The extraordinary incident of his life will serve to exhibit the powerful spirit of personal enterprise, which the peculiar circumstances of the colonies called forth.

The place of his birth, which happened in 1650, was a small plantation on the river Kennebeck, at that time nearly the limit of the English settlements on the east. His father was a gunsmith, who had a family of twenty-six children by one wife, twenty-one of whom were sons, of which William was nearly the youngest. His father dying while he was quite a lad, he lived with his mother until his eighteenth year, during which time he was chiefly concerned in the care of sheep. Contrary to the wishes of his friends, he now indented himself as an apprentice to a ship-carpenter, for four years, in which time he became master of his art. Upon the expiration of his service he went to Boston, where he followed his trade about a year, during which he learned to read and write, and in which time he was respectably married.

Failing of that success in his trade, which his enterprising genius coveted, he turned his attention to the sea, and during his first voyage, hearing of a Spanish wreck near the Bahamas, he directed his course thither, but obtained from it only sufficient to furnish himself with a voyage to England. On his arrival in that country he heard of another Spanish wreck, in which was lost an immense treasure; but the precise spot of which was as yet undiscovered. Being sanguine in the belief that he should be more successful than those who had preceeded him, in their attempts to discover it, he solicited the patronage of several persons in office, through whose influence he

was appointed to the Algier Rose, an English frigate of eighteen guns and ninety-five men, in which, in sometime after, he sailed inquest of the wreck.

It often happens that Divine Providence, previously to crowning a man's exertions with success, involves him for a season in difficulties, and tries him with disapointments. This was strikingly verified in the case of Capt. Phipps. Not meeting with the success which he had promised his crew, they at length became mutinous, and on a sudden rushed upon him, while on the quarter deck, with drawn swords, and demanded of him as the only condition of life, that he should join them in escaping to the South Seas, to engage in piracy. Although entirely unarmed, he stood firm and collected until he had fixed his plan, and then with a courage bordering on rashness, rushed in upon their pointed swords, dealing his blows so judiciously, that he felled numbers to the deck, and so awed the rest, that they consented to yield. At another time, finding it necessary to careen his vessel, he put into a desolate Spanish island, near to a rock from which a temporary bridge was extended to the ship. Mutiny was secretly working among his crew. While preparations were making by the carpenter for repairing the vessel, ninety of his men left her, and retired into the adjoining wood, under pretence of diversion, but in reality for mutinous purposes. Here a plan was formed, which was to seize Capt. Phipps, and the nine or ten men who were known to be friendly to him, and to abandon them to their fate on the island.

Apprehensive that the carpenter might be necessary on their voyage, they sent to him, then at work on the vessel, and requested that they would come to them. On his arrival he was apprised of their design, and threatened with death should he not second their views. The carpenter, being an honest man, requested an half hour to think upon the proposal, and returning to the ship, accompanied by a *spy* from the mutineers, resumed his work. On a sudden, feigning himself severely distressed with pain, he excused himself, while he should hasten to the captain, who was below, for a *dram*. In a few words, whilst the dram was getting, he discovered the plot to Capt, Phipps, and sought his advice. The captain bid him go back to the rogues, sign their articles, and leave the rest to him. No sooner had the carpenter gone, than Capt. Phipps summoned the men on board, of whom the gunner was one, and having briefly stated the plan in agitation, demanded of them whether they they would share his fortune; to which they unanimously agreed. All their provisions were on shore in a tent, round which several guns had been planted, to defend them from the Spaniards, would any chance to pass that way. These guns Capt. Phipps ordered his men to charge, and silently to turn in the direction

of the mutineers, while he should pull up the bridge, and with the assistance of two or three others bring the guns on board to bear on every side of the tent.

Scarcely were these preparations ended, when the mutineers, flushed with their anticipated success, made their appearance. On their nearer approach, Capt. Phipps bade them advance at their peril; at the same time directing his men to fire, should a single one come forward. Awed by his decision, and the death like preparations visible, they paused; upon which Capt. Phipps informed them that their plot was discovered and that he was determined to leave them to that fate, which they had designed for him, and those of the crew who were too virtuous to second their villainous purposes. At the same time he directed the bridge to be let down, and the provision to be brought on board—while some of the men should stand with matches at the guns with orders to fire should a single mutineer advance. This unexpected reverse, and especially the prospect of a certain, but a lingering death on a desolate shore, had the effect to subdue the mutineers, who now on their knees besought his pardon, and promised obedience to his orders. Unwilling, however, to trust them, Capt. Phipps tied their arms one after another; and when all were on board immediately weighed anchor, and sailed for Jamaica, where he dismissed them. From this place having shipped another crew, he sailed for Hispaniola, intending to proceed in search of the Spanish wreck; but his crew proving unfit, he returned to England.

Through the assistance of the Duke of Albemarle, and other persons of quality, he was furnished with another ship and a tender with which he sailed for Porto de la Plata, where after completing his preparations, he proceeded in search of the wreck. Having for a long time fruitlessly sought the object of his voyage, in the neighborhood of a reef of rocks called the *Boilers*, further search was about being abandoned, when, as one of the boats was returning to the ship across the reef, one of the men looking over the side, spied as he thought a *sea-feather*, growing out of a rock; whereupon an Indian diver was directed to descend and fetch it up. But what was their surprise and joy, on his return, to learn that he had discovered several guns, lying on the bottom of the deep. A second descent of the Indian increased their joy still more, for on his rising, he was bearing in his hand a *sow*, as they called it, or a mass of silver of the value of several hundred pounds sterling. Tidings of the discovery were immediately conveyed to Capt. Phipps, who with his men, repaired to the spot, and upon leaving the place, carried with him thirty tons of silver bullion, besides a large quantity of gold, pearls, and jewels, over which the billows had been rolling for more than half a century. On his arrival in

London, the property thus rescued was valued at nearly three hundred thousand pounds sterling ; yet of this sum, such was his exemplary honesty and liberality, that partly by fulfilling his assurances to his seamen, and partly by conscienciously paying over to his employers all their dues, he had left to himself less than sixteen thousand pounds. As a reward to his fidelity, however, he received a large present from the Duke of Albemarle, and upon a representation of his enterprise to the king, his majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. Liberal offers were made to him by the commissioners of the navy to continue in England, but he had too great an attachment for his native country to think of a permanent residence in any other land than that of New-England.

James II. was at this time on the throne of England, by whom the colonies in America had been deprived of their charters, and under whose governors they were severely suffering from arbitrary laws and excessive exactions.—Pleased with Phipps, the king gave him an opportunity to ask of his majesty what he pleased; upon which, forgetting personal aggrandizement, he besought for New-England, that her lost privileges might be restored to her. This was too great a boon to be granted, and the king replied, "*any thing but that*" His next request was, that he might be appointed high sheriff of the country, hoping that by means of his deputies in that office, he might supply the country with conscientious juries "which was the only method," says Mather "that the New-Englanders had left them to secure any thing that was dear to them."

Having at some expense obtained his request, after an absence of five years, he arrived in his native country; but the king's government found means not only to set aside his commission as high sheriff, but also to raise against him such a tide of opposition, that he had nearly been assassinated before his own door. Finding affairs in so unsettled a state, and his own situation uncomfortable, he not long after, took another voyage to England. Soon after his arrival in that country, James abdicated the throne, and the Prince of Orange ascended it. This event was the harbinger of better things to New England. Having tendered his services to William, and rejected with disdain the government of New England, proffered to him about this time by the abdicated king, he hastened his return to America, hoping now to be of some service to his country. In the unsettled state of the colonies, his wisdom and influence were of great importance, and contributed not a little to forward the revolution, which issued in freeing the colonies from the tyranny of James and his ministers.

The latter part of the life of Sir William Phipps is rendered doubly interesting, by his openly espousing the cause of reli-

gion. At the age of forty he was publicly baptized in one of the churches of Boston, and received into her communion. In an address on that occasion, in conclusion he observed, "I have had proffers of baptism elsewhere made to me, but I resolved rather to defer it until I could enjoy it in the communion of these churches. I have had awful impressions from the words of the Lord Jesus, 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my word, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed.' When God had blessed me with something of the world, I had no trouble so great as this, lest it should not be in mercy; and I trembled at nothing more than being put off with a portion here. That I may be sure of better things, I now offer myself unto the communion of the faithful."

King William's war breaking out at this time, he sailed upon the expedition against Port Royal and Quebec, related above. In the following year he received a commision as captain general and governor in chief over the province of Massachusetts Bay. No appointment could have been more acceptable to the people. He came to the government, however, in unsettled times, and though his administration was marked by disinterestedness and liberality, it was his fortune, as it is the fortune of all in high stations, to have enemies. Too restless to remain at ease, they at length preferred charges against him to the king, who, though satisfied of his fidelity, considering it expedient to inquire into the case, directed Sir William to appear in England. In obedience to the royal command, he took leave of Boston, in Nov. 1694, attended with every demonstration of respect from the people, and with addresses to their Majesties, that he might be continued in his present respectable and useful station.

On his arrival in England, the cloud, which had hung over him, was dispelling, and the prospect flattering of his speedy return to his government, uninjured by the accusation of prejudice and calumny. But Providence had now accomplished its designs in respect to him. He was suddenly attacked by a malignant disease, which terminated his life, in February, to the great grief of all who were acquainted with the generosity and patriotism, integrity, and piety, that distinguished him.

The life of such a man is always replete with instruction. It reveals to those in the humbler walks of life, the means by which they may not only arrive at distinction, but to that which is of far higher importance—an extended sphere of usefulness in church and state. Enterprise, exertion, integrity, will accomplish every thing.*

* Mather's Magnalia.

This year, 1691, colonel Henry Sloughter succeeded colonel Leisler, Governor of New York. Leisler, when informed of this appointment, ought to have relinquished the authority he had exercised. Although twice required he refused to surrender the fort. Sloughter caused Leisler and Milborne to be arrested and executed for high treason.

In July, 1691, Peter Schuyler, at the head of three hundred Mohawks, made a sudden and bold attack upon the French settlements at the North end of Lake Champlain. An army of eight hundred men was despatched from Montreal to oppose him. With them he had several singular but successful conflicts, in which he killed a greater number of the enemy than his whole party.

In 1692, colonel Fletcher, succeeded governor Sloughter, and was authorised by his commission to take command of the militia of Connecticut. This power having been given by the charter to the Governor of the colony of New England, he determined not to relinquish it, and was supported by the people.

On the 26th of October, colonel Fletcher came to Hartford, while the assembly were sitting, and, in his majesty's name, demanded their submission of the militia to his command, as they would answer it to his majesty; and that they would give him a speedy answer in one word, Yes or No. He subscribed himself his majesty's lieutenent, and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces by sea or land, and of all the forts and places of strength in the colony of Connecticut. He ordered the militia of Hartford under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers. It was judged expedient to call the trainbands in Hartford together; but theassembly insisted, that the command of the militia was expressly vested, by charter, in the governor and company; and that they could, by no means, consistently with their just rights and the common safety, resign it into any other hands. They insinuated, that his demands were an invasion of their essential privileges, and subversive of their constitution.

Upon this, colonel Bayard, by his excellency's command, sent a letter into the assembly, declaring, that his excellency had no design upon the civil rights of the colony; but would leave them, in all respects, as he found them. In the name of his excellency, he tendered a commission to governor Treat, empowering him to command the militia of the colony. He declared, that his excellency insisted, that they should acknowledge it an essential right, inherent in his majesty, to command the militia; and that he was determined not to set his foot out of the colony until he had seen his majesty's commission obeyed: That he would issue his proclamation, showing the means he had taken to give ease and satisfaction to his majesty's sub-

jects of Connecticut, and that he would distinguish the disloyal from the rest.

The assembly, nevertheless, would not give up the command of the militia ; nor would governor Treat receive a commission from colonel Fletcher.

The trainbands of Hartford assembled, and, as the tradition is, while captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, colonel Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Captain Wadsworth instantly commanded, " Beat the drums ;" and there was such a roaring of them that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence. But no sooner had Bayard made an attempt to read again, than Wadsworth commands, " Drum, drum, I say." The drummers understood their business, and instantly beat up with all the art and life of which they were masters. " Silence, silence," says the Colonel. No sooner was there a pause, than Wadsworth speaks with great earnestness, " Drum, drum, I say ;' and turning to his excellency, said, " If I am interrupted again I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." He spoke with such energy in his voice and meaning in his countenance, that no further attempts were made to read or enlist men. Such numbers of people collected together, and their spirits appeared so high, that the Governor and his suite judged it expedient, soon to leave the town and return to New York.

No pen can describe the cruelties which were practised during the French and Indian war. Women soon expecting to become mothers were ripped up, and their unborn offspring, dashed against a stone or tree. Infants, when troublesome were despatched in the same manner. Some of the captives were roasted alive ; others received deep wounds in the flesh, and sticks on fire thrust into them, and were thus tormented to death.

1694. Upon the solicitations of governor Fletcher and Sir William Phipps, agents, with a number of troops were sent to attend a treaty with the Five Nations. The expense of it was about four hundred pounds.

December 10th 1697, closed the horrid scene, by a treaty of peace between Great Britain and France.

The winter of 1696 was unusually severe. Never had the country sustained such losses in commerce, nor had provisions ever been so scarce, or borne a higher price.

The surprise of Dover, in New Hampshire, was attended by circumstances of the most shocking barbarity. That the natives had been cruelly injured by major Waldron, the principal citizen, may account for it, if not extenuate their ferocity, in obtaining revenge. Having determined upon their plan of

attack, they employed more than their usual art to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. So civil and respectful was their behaviour, that they often obtained permission to sleep in the fortified houses in the town.

On the fatal evening they assembled in the neighbourhood, and sent their women to apply for lodgings at the houses devoted to destruction; they were not only admitted, but were shown how they could open the doors, should they have occasion to go out in the night. When all was quiet, the doors were opened, and a signal given. The Indians rushed into Mr. Waldron's house, and hastened to his apartment. Awakened by the noise, he seized his sword, and drove them back; but when returning for his other arms, he was stunned with a hatchet, and fell. They then dragged him into the hall, seated him in an elbow chair, upon a large table, and insultingly asked him, "who shall judge Indians now?" each one, with his knife, cut gashes across his breast, saying, "I cross out my account." When weakened with the loss of blood, he was about to fall from the table, his own sword was held under him, which put an end to his misery.

At other houses, similar acts of cruelty were perpetrated. In the whole town twenty-three persons were killed, twenty-nine carried prisoners to Canada, and sold to the French.

The details of individual sufferings that occurred during this war, were they faithfully recorded, would excite the sympathies of the most unfeeling bosom. One instance only will serve to confirm the remark.

In an attack, by a body of Indians, upon Haverhill, New-Hampshire, in the winter of 1697, the concluding year of the war, a party of the assailants, burning with savage animosity, approached the house of a Mr. Dustan. Upon the first alarm, he flew from a neighboring field to his family, with the hope of hurrying them to a place of safety. Seven of his children he directed to flee, while he himself went to assist his wife, who was confined in her bed with an infant a week old; but before she could leave the bed, the savages arrived.

In despair of rendering her assistance, Mr. Dustan flew to the door, mounted his horse, and determined in his own mind to snatch up the child which he loved best. He followed in pursuit of his little flock, but on coming up with them, he found it impossible to make a selection. He determined, therefore, to meet his fate with them; to defend and save them from the knife of the pursuing savages, or die by their side.

A body of the Indians soon came up with them, and from short distances, commenced a fire upon him and his little company. For more than a mile he continued to retreat, placing himself between the fire of the Indians and his children, and

returned their shots with great spirit and success. At length he saw them all safely lodged from their bloody pursuers, in a distant house.

It is not easy to find a nobler instance of fortitude and courage, inspired by affection, than is exhibited in this heroic act. Let us ever cultivate the influence of those ties of kindred, which are capable of giving so generous and elevated a direction to our actions.

As Mr. Dustan quitted his house, a party of Indians entered it. Mrs. Dustan was in bed, but they ordered her to rise instantly, and before she could finish dressing, obliged her and the nurse, who had in vain attempted to escape with the infant, to quit the house, which they plundered and burnt.

In these distressing circumstances, Mrs. Dustan began her march with other captives, into the wilderness. The air was keen, and their path led through snow and deep mud, and their savage conductors delighted rather in their affliction, than in alleviating their distress.

The company had proceeded but a short distance, when an Indian, thinking the infant an incumbrance, took it from the arms of the nurse, and violently terminated its life. Such of the other captives as became weary and incapable of proceeding, the Indians killed with their tomahawks. Feeble as Mrs. Dustan was, both she and her nurse sustained with wonderful energy, the fatigues and misery attending a journey of one hundred and fifty miles.

On their arriving at the place of their destination, they found the wigwam of the savage who claimed them to be inhabited by twelve Indians. In the ensuing April, this family set out, with their captives, for an Indian settlement, still more remote. The captives were informed that on their arrival at the settlement, they must submit to be stripped, scourged, and run the gauntlet between two files of Indians. This information carried distress to the minds of the captive women, and led them promptly to devise some means of escape.

Early in the morning of the 31st of April, Mrs. Dustan awaking her nurse and another fellow-prisoner, they despatched ten of the twelve Indians, while they were asleep; the other two escaped. The women then commenced their difficult and dangerous journey through the wilderness, and at length arrived safe at Haverhill. Subsequently they visited Boston, and received from the general court a handsome consideration for their extraordinary sufferings and heroic conduct.

The first suspicion of witchcraft in New-England, and in the United States, began at Springfield, Massachusetts, as early as 1645. Several persons were about that time accused, tried and executed in Massachusetts; 1 at Charleston, 1 at Dorchester,

1 at Cambridge, and 1 at Boston. For almost 30 years afterwards the subject rested. But in 1687, or 1668, it was revived in Boston; four of the children of John Goodwin uniting in accusing a poor Irish woman with bewitching them. Unhappily, the accusation was regarded with attention, and the woman was tried and executed. Near the close of February, 1692, the subject was again revived, in consequence, of several children near Danvers and Salem, beginning to act in a peculiar and unaccountable manner. Their strange conduct continuing for several days, their friends betook themselves to fasting and prayer. During religious exercises, it was found that the chil were generally decent and still; but after service was ended, they renewed their former inexplicable conduct. This was deemed sufficient evidence that they were laboring under the influence of witchcraft.

At the expiration of some days, the children began to accuse several persons in the neighborhood of bewitching them. Unfortunately they were credited, and the suspected authors of the spell were seized and imprisoned.

From this date the awful mania rapidly spread into the neighboring country, and soon appeared in various parts of Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk. Persons at Andover, Ipswich, Gloucester, Boston and various other places, were accused by their neighbors and others.

For some time the victims were selected only from among the lower classes. But at length, the accusations fell upon persons of the most respectable rank. In August, Mr. George Burroughs, sometime minister in Salem, was accused, brought to trial, and condemned. Accusations were also brought against Mr. English, a respectable merchant in Salem, and his wife; against Messrs. Dudley and Bradley, sons of the then late governor Bradstreet; against the wife of Mr. Hale, the lady of Sir Wm. Phipps, and against the secretary of Connecticut.

The evil had now become awfully alarming. One man named Giles Corry, had been pressed to death for refusing to plead, and nineteen persons had been executed. More than one third of these were members of the church. One hundred and fifty were in prison, and two hundred were accused.

At length, the inquiry was anxiously suggested, where will this accumulated mischief and misery end? The conviction soon followed, that the proceedings had been rash and indefensible. A special court was held on the subject, and fifty who were brought to trial were acquitted excepting three, who were afterwards reprieved by the governor. These events were followed by a general release of those who had been imprisoned. "Thus the cloud," says the late president Dwight, "which had so long hung over the colony, slowly and sullenly retired; and like the

darkness of Egypt, was to the great joy of the distressed inhabitants, succeeded by serenity and sunshine."

We who live to look back upon this scene, are wont to contemplate with wonder the seeming madness and infatuation, not of the weak, illiterate, and unprincipled, but of men of sense, education, and fervent piety. Let us consider, however, that at this period, the actual existence of witchcraft was taken for granted, and that doubts respecting it, were deemed little less than heresy. The learned Baxter, who at this time in England, where the same notions on this subject prevailed, pronounced the disbeliever in witchcraft, an "obdurate sadducee; and sir Mathew Hale, one of the brightest ornaments of the English bench, repeatedly tried and condemned those as criminals who were accused of witchcraft. Let us then rather advert with gratitude to our own freedom from such delusions, than bestow invectives upon those who can plead, in excuse for their error, the spirit of the age in which they lived.

In 1693, the earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. He was particularly instructed to clear the American seas of the pirates who infested them, and who it was suspected had even received encouragement from governor Fletcher.

The government declining to furnish the necessary naval force, the earl, with others, engaged in a private undertaking against them. The associates procured a vessel of war; gave the command of it to a captain Kidd, and sent him to cruise against the pirates. He had been but a short time at sea, when disregarding his instructions, he made a new contract with his crew, and on the Atlantic and Indian ocean became himself a daring atrocious, and successful pirate. Three years afterwards, he returned, burned his vessel, and appeared publicly in Boston. He was apprehended and sent to England, where he was tried and executed.

When Gov. Bellamont had settled the affairs of that Government, he returned to New-York, where he died in 1701, greatly lamented.

Scarcely had the colonies recovered from the war which ended in 1697, before they were again involved in the horrors of another war with the French, Indians and Spaniards, which continued from 1702 to March 31, 1713.

In February 1704, Deerfield, in Massachusetts was surprised in the night. About 40 persons was killed, and 150 made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. They came to the house of Mr. Williams, forced open the doors and entered the room where Mr. Williams was sleeping. Awaked by the noise, he seized his pistol, and snapped it at the first Indian, but it missed fire, the house was then plundered, and two of his children and the

black female servant, were butchered before his eyes. The savages at length suffered his wife and himself, with five children, to put on their clothes, and prepare for a long journey. Every house but the one next to Mr. Williams' was consumed.

"One house still remains, as a painful memento to posterity. The front door was hacked and hewn with hatchets, until the savages had cut a hole through it; through this hole they fired into the house; this door, which still bears its ancient wounds, and the hole, (closed only by a board, tacked on within,) remains now as the savages left it, and is a most interesting monument.

"Through the windows they also fired, and one bullet killed the female head of the family, sitting up in bed, and the mark of that bullet, as well as of four others, is visible in the room: in one of the holes in a joist, another bullet remains to this day. This family were all killed, or carried into captivity."

The second day, Mrs. Williams began to fail, and could go no farther. Her husband requested permision to remain with her; but they plunged a hatchet into her head, and compelled him to proceed. Before the termination of their journey, twenty more shared the same fate. Those who reached Canada, were treated with humanity by the French.

At the end of two years, Mr. Willliams, and fifty-seven others, were redeemed, and he returned to Deerfield, where he continued his labors in the ministry twelve years, and died. His eldest daughter was married to an Indian in Canada, where she lived many years. She came into New England once or twice, with her sannup and children, to visit her friends, and at her death left a numerous family.

In 1707, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, which was in possession of the French. The expedition, consisted of one thousand men; but returned without accomplishing its object.

General Nicholson visited England, and proposed an expedition against Canada. In June 1711, Admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports, arrived at Boston, and taking on board two additional regiments, he sailed from Boston the last of July. At the same time, general Nicholson proceeded from Albany, at the head of four thousand men, from Connecticut, New-York, and New Jersey, against Canada.

The fleet had advanced about ten leagues up the river St. Lawrence, when the weather became foggy. Different opinions arose, concerning what couse to take; the English Pilots recommended one course, the Americans another. The admiral, like all other English officers, adopted the advise of his own pilots; and about midnight, nine transports were driven upon the

rocks and dashed to pieces. About one thousand men sunk to rise no more. Not a single American was lost. The Admiral returned to England, and on the 15th of October, his ship blew up, and four hundred seamen perished. The New England troops returned home, and when Nicholson, who had advanced as far as lake George learned the fate of the fleet, he led back his troops to Albany. The next year, 1713, France and England made peace at Utrecht; this relieved the northern part of the country, and in the same year, peace was concluded with the Indians.

Such was the destruction of lives in this war, that the population of New England was sensibly decreasing. Their expenses were great, which obliged them to issue bills of credit, or paper money, which perplexed the government in all their transactions.

In 1716, Samuel Street, a colonel in the army of the celebrated duke of Marlborough, was appointed governor. On his arrival in the province, he found the people divided into parties; one in favour of a public Bank, which had just been established; the other for a private Bank.

He joined the former; the latter became hostile, and led by a Mr. Cook opposed with virulence all his measures.

In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out in South Carolina. All the tribes from Florida to Cape Fear had been long engaged in a conspiracy against the whites. On the morning of the 15th of April, the first blow was struck, at the settlements around Port Royal. Ninety persons were massacred. Some of the inhabitants escaped by embarking on board a vessel which then lay in the harbour, and sailed directly for Charleston. At a plantation on Goose Creek, seventy whites and forty faithful negroes being protected by a breast work, determined to maintain their post; but on the first attack, their courage failed them, and they agreed to surrender. The instant they fell into the power of the enemy, all were barbarously murdered.

Governor Craven, from North Carolina, at the head of one thousand men, marched against the savages. He discovered several small parties, who fled before him. At Saltcatchers, he found them all assembled, and there an obstinate and bloody battle was fought. The whites were victorious, and compelled the enemy to leave the province. Most of them fled to Florida, and were kindly received by the Spaniards.

In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatening invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves by a solemn compact, to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the proprietors; and the assembly which was then in session, requested

the Governor, by a respectful address, to consent to administer the government in the king's name. He refused, and by proclamation dissolved the assembly. The members immediately met and elected colonel James Moore their governor. He was a bold man, and exceedingly well qualified for a popular leader, in a turbulent season. He accepted the appointment, and administered the affairs of the colony.

The conduct of the proprietors and people was brought before his majesty's council. After a full hearing, it was decided that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the crown. In 1719, Hunter, governor of New York, quitted the province, and his authority devolved on Peter Schuyler. The next year, William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop, was appointed governor. Turning his attention towards the wilderness, he perceived that the French, in order to secure themselves the Indian trade, and confine the English to the sea coast, were erecting forts, from St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He endeavoured to defeat these designs, by building a trading house and fort at Oswego, on lake Ontario. But the French applied with great activity in accomplishing their object; they launched two vessels upon the lake, and erected a fort at Niagara; they had previously erected fort Frontinac, commanding the outlet.

The peace of 1713, was of short duration. In 1722, the eastern Indians began to be hostile, murdering several persons, and burning the town of Brunswick. In 1723, Dover was surprised, and several persons killed, and a number carried into captivity; and in 1724, repeated attacks were made, and the English kept in a continual alarm. Numbers were killed. The English in their turn made an attack upon Norridgeway; killed Ralled the jesuit, and about eighty-seven Indians. The war now raged with violence, until 1726, when peace was restored. This treaty was greatly applauded, and under it, owing to the more pacific feelings of the Indians, and more faithful observance of the English, the colonies experienced unusual tranquillity for a long time.

The settlement of Georgia, in June 1732.—*Continued.*

Several benevolent gentlemen in England suggested a plan of conveying all the indigent subjects of Great Britain thither. To a project springing from motives so noble, the people and the government extended their patronage. In November, 1732, one hundred emigrants embarked for Georgia. The next year, five hundred persons arrived at that place. But it was soon discovered, that these people had become poor by their idleness, and were not fitted to fill the groves of Georgia.

The trustees therefore offered to receive such as had become poor by unavoidable misfortune, and grant to each one who should repair to the colony fifty acres of land. This offer brought more than four hundred persons into Georgia.

In 1736, John Wesley, a celebrated Methodist, made a visit to Georgia for the purpose of preaching to the colony. Two years after, George Whitefield, another celebrated Methodist, arrived in the colony; but both created more enemies than friends, and returned.

In 1738, a disturbance was created among the negroes in South Carolina. A number of them assembled at Stono, surprised and killed two white men who had the charge of a warehouse, from which they took guns and ammunition. They then chose a captain, and with drums proceeded Southward, burning every house, and killing all the whites that fell in their way; and compelled all the negroes to join them. Governor Bull, who was returning from the southward, accidently met them, hastened out of the way, and spread the alarm. News soon reached Wiltown, where a large congregation were attending divine service. The men, according to the law, brought their arms to the place of worship, and marched directly in quest of the negroes. While in an open field, they were dancing with frantic exultation at their late success, they were suddenly attacked by the whites; a number were killed, some fled, and the remainder taken. They who had been compelled to join them, were pardoned; but all the leaders suffered death. About twenty whites were murdered.

In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were involved. Their commerce and fisheries suffered great injury from privateers fitted out at Louisburg, a French port on cape Breton. Its situation was important. Nearly six millions of dollars had been expended on its fortifications.* It was of great importance that the colonies should

* The harbor of Louisburg lies in latitude 45 deg. 55 min.; its entrance is about 400 yards wide. The anchorage is uniformly safe, and ships may run ashore on a soft, muddy bottom. The depth of water at the entrance is about nine to twelve fathom. The harbor lies open to the southeast. Upon a neck of land upon the south side of the harbor, was built the town, two miles and a quarter in circumference; fortified in every accessible part, with a rampart of stone, from thirty to sixty feet high, and a ditch eight feet wide. A space of about two hundred yards was left without a rampart; on the side next to the sea, it was enclosed with a simple dike, and a line of pickets; the sea was so shallow in this place that it made only a narrow channel, inaccessible from its numerous reefs, to any shipping whatever. The side-fire from the bastions secured this spot from attack. There were six bastions and three batteries, containing embrazures for one hundred and

destroy or take possession of this strong hold, although it was considered impossible. Having exacted of the general court an oath of secrecy, the governor, in January 1745, communicated to them the project. Many heard it with amazement. So strong was the place, and so weak were the colonies, that the thoughts of attacking it seemed rash and presumptuous. The secret was disclosed by an honest member, who prayed for divine blessing on the attempt, if it should be made. The people were instantly struck with the advantage of possessing the place. When the decision was made known, a petition, signed by a large number of merchants, was presented to the general court, praying them to comply with the governor's proposals. The subject was again discussed, and the vote in favour of the expedition was only one majority.

The question was now decided, and all who were before averse to the enterprise, united heartily with the supporters, to carry it into execution. The other New England colonies agreed to furnish assistance, and a boat was despatched to commodore Warren in the West-Indies, to invite him to their assistance. In two months, an army of more than four thousand men were enlisted, clothed, victualled, and equipped for service, in the four New England colonies, which did not contain

forty-eight cannon, of which sixty-five only were mounted, and sixteen mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbor was planted a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pound shot; and at the bottom of the harbor, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery, of twenty-eight cannon, forty-two pounders, and two eighteen pounders. On a high cliff opposite to the island battery, stood a light-house; and within this point, at the northeast part of the harbor, was a careening wharf, secure from all winds, and a magazine of naval stores.

The town was regularly laid out in squares; the streets were broad, the houses mostly of wood, and some of stone. On the west side, near the rampart, was a spacious citadel, and a large parade; on the one side of which were the governor's apartments; under the rampart were casement to receive the women and children, during a siege. The entrance of the town on the land side, was at the west gate, over a draw bridge, near to which was a circular battery, mounting sixteen guns of twenty-four pound shot.

These works had been twenty-five years in building, and had cost the crown of France not less than thirty millions of livres. The place was so strong as to be called the "Dunkirk of America." It was in peace a safe retreat for the ships of France, bound homeward from the East or West-Indies; and in war a source of distress to the northern English colonies; its situation being extremely favourable for privateers to ruin their fishery, and intercept their coasting and foreign trade; for which reason the reduction of it was as desirable to them, as the reduction of Carthage was to the Romans.

four hundred thousand inhabitants. On the 23d of March, the despatch boat returned from the West-Indies, with information that commodore Warren declined furnishing any aid, without orders from England. This intelligence was kept a secret. About the 19th of April, the troops, together with those from Connecticut and New Hampshire, arrived safely at Canso. Commodore Warren had but just despatched his answer, when he received orders to repair to Boston with such ships as he could spare, and concert measures with governor Shirley for his majesty's service in North America. He sailed immediately but learning that the transports had sailed for Canso, he steered directly for that place. He added much to the naval strength. Several vessels of war, which had been sent to cruise before Louisburg, had captured several French ships, and prevented any intelligence of the expidition from reaching them. Those vessels were daily within sight of the place, but were supposed to be privateers, and caused no alarm. The appearance of the fleet on the 30th of April, gave the French the first intimation of their danger. The troops immediately landed, and the next day, four hundred marched around the hills, approached within a mile of the grand battery, setting fire to all the houses and stores on the way. Many of these contained tar and pitch, which produced a thick smoke, that completely enveloped the invadors. The fears of the French were increased by their uncertainty. They imagined all the army was coming upon them, and throwing their powder into a well, destroyed the battery, which the English took without loss.

This was uncommon good fortune; but the most difficult labour of the siege remained to be performed. The cannon were to be drawn nearly two miles over a deep morass, in plain view, and within gun shot of the enemy's principal fortification. For fourteen nights the troops with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, were employed in the service. By the 20th of May, they had erected five batteries, one of which mounted five forty-two pounders, and did great execution. Meanwhile, the fleet cruised in the harbor, and was equally successful. It captured a French ship of sixty-four guns, loaded with stores for the garrison, to whom the loss was distressing. English ships of war were continually arriving, and added such strength to the fleet, that a combined attack upon the town was resolved upon. The enemy discovering this design, deemed it unwise to run the hazard of an assault. On the 15th of June, the French commander proposed a cessation of hostilities; and on the 17th capitulated.

Intelligence of this event spread like lightning through the country. The French flag still standing upon the walls of

Louisburg, which decoyed several India ships, supposed to be worth six hundred thousand pounds. Well might the citizens of New England be elated with these glad tidings. Without even a suggestion from the mother country, their commerce and fisheries were now secure.

France, fired with resentment at her loss, made extraordinary exertions to retrieve it, and to inflict chastisement on New England. The next summer, she despatched to the American coast a powerful fleet, carrying a large number of soldiers. The news of its approach spread terror throughout New England. But an uncommon succession of disasters, which the pious of that time attributed to the special interposition of Providence, deprived it of all power to inflict injury. After remaining a short time on the coast, it returned to France. Having lost two admirals, both of whom it was supposed, put an end to their lives through chagrin; having also by tempest been reduced to one half its force, and effected nothing. In 1748, peace was concluded; each party restored all its prisoners and conquests. A striking, but not uncommon illustration of the folly of war. Louisburg, though conquered by the colonies, was exchanged by Great Britain for territories which she had lost in Europe. New England murmured at this injustice, but what avail the murmurs of the weak?

In 1750, an act was passed, prohibiting the exportations of hats, out of the plantations of America, and to restrain the number of apprentices taken by hat makers; also an act providing a penalty of one hundred pounds for the erection of any mill for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer.

CHAPTER V.

French and Indian War which commenced in 1756, *and continued to* 1763.

The war which ended in 1748, for a short period gave peace to America, and the population in the thirteen colonies, amounted to one million and one hundred thousand. Scarcely had the colonies time to reap the benefits of peace, before their prospect was clouded, and the sound of war filled the land with general anxiety and distress. In 1756, the 18th of May, Great Britain declared war against France.

The general cause leading to this war, commonly called the French and Indian war, was the encroachment of the French upon Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to Great Britain by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht. About this time a company of English traders established trading houses on the banks of the Ohio.

The French seized some of the traders, and conveyed them prisoners to Canada. A tribe of Indians in Ohio, among whom the English had been trading resented the seizure, and by way of retaliation, took several French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania. The Ohio company complained to Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, who laid the subject before the assembly, which ordered a messenger to be despatched to the French Commmander in Ohio, and require him to withdraw his troops. The person entrusted with the service, was George Washington.

Our beloved Washington happening to hear it, instantly waited on his excellency, and offered his services, but not without being terribly afraid lest his want of a beard should go against him. However, the Governor was so charmed with his modesty and manly air, that he never asked him a syllable about his age, but after thanking him for "*a noble youth*," and insisting on his taking a glass of wine with him, slipped a commission into his hand. The next day, accompanied by an interpreter and a couple of servants, he set out on his expedition, which was, from start to pole, as disagreeable and dangerous as anything Hercules himself could have wished. Soaking rains, chilling blasts, roaring floods, pathless woods, and mountains clad in snows, opposed his course, but opposed in vain. The glorious ambition to serve his country imparted an animation to his nerves, which rendered him superior to all difficulties.

Returning homewards, he was waylaid and shot at by a French Indian, and though the copper-colored ruffian was not 15 steps distant when he fired at him, yet not even so much as the smell of lead passed on the clothes of our young hero. On his return to Virginia, it was found that he had executed his negotiations, both with the French and Indians, with such fidelity and judgment, that he received the heartiest thanks of the Governor and Council for the very important services he had done his country.

He was now (in the 20th year of his age) appointed major and adjutant general of the Virginia forces. Soon after this, the Indians continuing the encroachments, orders were given by the English government, for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. Virginia took the lead, and raised a regiment of four hundred men, at the head of which she placed her darling Washington.

With this handful of brave fellows, Col. Washington, not yet 23 years of age, boldly pushed out into the Indian country, and there for a considerable time, Hannibal-like, maintained the war against three times the number of French and Indians. At the Red-Stones he came up with a strong party of the enemy, whom he engaged and effectually defeated, after having killed and taken thirty one men. From his prisoners he obtained undoubted intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of a thousand regulars and many hundreds of Indians. But notwithstanding this disheartening advice, he still pressed on undauntedly against the enemy, and at a place called Little Meadows, built a fort, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he waited, hourly and anxiously looking for succours from New York and Pennsylvania; but he looked in vain—nobody came to his assistance. Not long after this his small force, now reduced to three hundred men, were attacked by an army of 1100 French and Indians. Never did the true Virginian valor shine more gloriously than on this trying occasion.

To see three hundred young fellows—commanded by a smooth-faced boy—all unaccustomed to the terrors of war—far from home, and from all hopes of help—shut up in a dreary wilderness, and surrounded by four times their number of savage foes, and yet, without sign of fear, without thought of surrender, preparing for mortal combat. Oh! it was a noble sight!—Scarcely since the days of Leonidas and his three hundred deathless Spartans, had the sun beheld its equal. With hideous whoops and yells the enemy came on like a host of tigers. The woods, and rocks, and tall tree tops (as the Indians climbing to the tops of the trees, poured down their bullets into the fort) were in one continued blaze and crash of fire-arms. Nor were our young warriors idle, but, animated by their gallant chief, plied their rifles with such spirit, that their little fort resembled a valcano in full blast, roaring and discharging thick sheets of liquid fire and of leaden deaths among their foes. For three glorious hours, Salamander like, enveloped in smoke and flame, they sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force, and laid two hundred of them dead on the spot!—Discouraged by such desperate resistance, the French general, the Count de Villers sent in a flag to Washington, extolling his gallantry to the skies, and offering him the most honorable terms. It was stipulated that Col. Washington and his little band of heroes, should march away with all the honors of war, and carry with them their military stores and baggage.

The conduct of the French against the Ohio company, soon reached England. The English were convinced, that their claims to the country through which that river flows must be

relinquished, or maintained by the sword. They soon chose the latter, and early in the spring of 1755, they despatched general Braddock with a respectable force to America, to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory. In April, Braddock met the Governors of several provinces to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon; one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock; one against forts Niagara and Frontinac; to be commanded Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, by General Johnson. This last expedition was to be executed by troops raised in New England and New York.

In the Spring of 1755, Washington, while busied in the highest military operations, was summoned to attend Gen. Braddock, who in the month of February, arrived at Alexandria, with two thousand British troops. The assembly of Virginia appointed eight hundred provincials to join him. The object of this army was to march through the country, by the way of Will's Creek, to fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburgh, or Fort Pitt.) As no person was so well acquainted with the frontier country as Washington, and none stood so high in military fame, it was thought he would be infinitely serviceable to general Braddock. At the request of the Governor and Council he cheerfully quitted his own command, to act as volunteer aid decamp to that very imprudent and unfortunate general.—The army nearly three thousand strong, marched from Alexandria and proceeded unmolested within a few miles of Fort Pitt. On the morning of the day in which they expected to arrive, the provincial scouts discovered a large party of French and Indians lying in ambush. Washington with his usual modesty, observed to Gen. Braddock what sort of enemy he had now to deal with. An enemy who would not, like the Europeans, come forward to a fair contest in the field, but, concealed behind rocks and trees carry on a deadly warfare with their rifles. He concluded with begging that Gen. Braddock would grant him the honor to let him place himself at the head of the Virginia riflemen, and fight them in their own way.—And it was generally thought that our young hero and his eight hundred hearts of hickory, would very easily have beaten them too, for they were not superior to the force, which, (with only three hundred) he had handled so roughly a twelve month before. But Gen. Braddock, who had all along treated the American officers and soldiers with infinite contempt, instead of following this truly salutary advice, swelled and reddened with most unmanly rage.—"High times, by G—d" he exclaimed, strutting to and fro with arms a kimbo, "High times! when a young buckskin can teach a British general how to fight!" Washington withdrew, biting his lips with grief and indigna-

tion, to think what numbers of brave fellows would draw short breath that day, through the pride and obstinacy of one epaulletted fool. The troops were ordered to *form* and advance in *columns* through the woods ! ! !—In a little time the ruin which Washington had predicted ensued. This poor devoted army, pushed on by their mad-cap general, fell into the fatal snare which was laid for them. All at once a thousand rifles began the work of death. The ground was instantly covered with the dying and the dead. The British troops, thus slaughtered by hundreds, and by an enemy whom they could not see, were thrown irrecoverably into panic and confusion, and in a few minutes their haughty general with 1200 of his brave but unfortunate countrymen, bit the ground. Poor Braddock closed the tragedy with great decency. He was mortally wounded in the beginning of the action, and Washington had him placed in a cart ready for retreat. Close on the left, where the weight of the French and Indian fire principally fell, Washington and his Virginia riflemen, dressed in blue, sustained the shock. At every discharge of their rifles the wounded general cried out, "*O my brave Virginia blues ! Would to God I could live to reward you for such gallantry.*" But he died. Washington buried him in the road, and to save him from discovery and the scalping knife, ordered the waggons on their retreat to drive over his grave !—O God ! what is man? Even a thing of nought ! !

Amidst all this fearful consternation and carnage, amidst all the uproars and horrors of a rout, rendered still more dreadful by the groans of the dying, the screams of the wounded, the piercing shrieks of the women, and the yells of the furious assaulting savages, Washington, calm and self-collected, rallied his faithful riflemen, led them on to the charge, killed numbers of the enemy who were rushing on with tomahawks, checked their pursuit, and brought off the shattered remains of the British army.

With respect to our beloved Washington, we cannot but mention here two very extraordinary speeches that were uttered about him at this time, and which, as things have turned out, look a good deal like prophecies. A famous Indian warrior who assisted in the defeat of Braddock, was often heard to swear that Washington *was not born to be killed by a bullet*, "*for*," continued he, "*I had seventeen fair fires at him with my rifle, and, after all, I could not bring him to the ground.*"—And, indeed, whoever considers that a good rifle, levelled by a proper marksman, hardly ever misses its aim, will readily enough conclude with this unlettered savage, that some invisible hand must have turned aside his bullets.

The Rev. Mr. Davies, in a sermon occasioned by General Braddock's defeat, has these remarkable words—"*I beg leave to point the attention of the public to that heroic youth, Colonel George Washington, whom I cannot but hope providence has preserved for some great service to this country.*

Governor Shirley proceeded to Oswego, on lake Ontario. His army was poorly supplied with provisions, and the rainy season approaching, he abandoned the expedition, and returned to Albany. The army under General Johnson, arrived at the south end of lake George, the latter part of August, when he received information that two thousand of the enemy commanded by Baron Dieskau, were marching against Fort Edward. Accordingly, Colonel Williams was detached to intercept him.

Colonel Williams' party, which left the camp between eight and nine o'clock in the morning of Sept. 8th, 1755, very unexpectedly fell in with the army of baron Dieskau; the two armies met in the road, front to front; the Indians of Dieskau's army were in ambuscade, upon both declivities of the mountains, and thus it was a complete surprise, for Col. Williams had unhappily neglected to place any scouts upon his wings. A bloody battle ensued, and a deadly fire was poured in upon both flanks.—Col. Williams, endeavouring to lead his men against the unseen enemy, was instantly shot through the head, and he and hundreds of his party, including old Hendrick, the chief of the Mohawks, and forty Indians, were slain. The remainder of the party, under the command of Col. Whiting, retreated into the camp. They came running in, in the utmost confusion and consternation, and perhaps owed their safety, in a great measure, to another party, which, when the firing was heard, and perceived to be growing louder and nearer, was sent out to succor them.

Nor did this battle terminate the fighting of this bloody day. The remains of Dieskau's army retreated about four miles, to the ground where colonel Williams had been defeated in the morning,—the rear of the army were there sitting upon the ground, had opened their knapsacks, and were refreshing themselves, when capt. McGinnies, who with two hundred men, had been despatched from fort Edward, to succor the main body, came up with this portion of the French army, thus sitting in security, and attacked and totally defeated them, although he was himself mortally wounded. Thus were three battles fought in one day, and almost upon the same ground. This ground I went over. The neighboring mountain, in which the French so suddenly made their appearance, is to this day, called French Mountain; and this name, with the tradition of the fact, will be sent down to the latest posterity. I was

shown a rock by the road, at which a considerable slaughter took place. It was on the east side of the road near where col. Williams fell, and I am informed is, to this day, called, Williams' Rock.

Just by the present road, and in the midst of these battle grounds, is a circular pond, shaped exactly like a bowl; it may be two hundred feet in diameter, and was when I saw it, full of water, and covered with the pond lily. Alas! this pond, now so peaceful, was the common sepulchre of the brave; the dead bodies of most of those who were slain on this eventful day, were thrown, in undistinguished confusion into this pond; from that time to the present, it has been called the Bloody Pond, and there is not a child in this region, but will point you to the French Mountain and the Bloody Pond.—I stood with dread upon its brink, and threw a stone into the unconscious waters. After these events, a regular fort was constructed at the head of the lake, and called fort William Henry.

Early in the spring, 1756, the enemy, invited by the success of the preceding year, made another irruption into the inhabited country, and did great mischief. The number of troops on the regular establishment was totally insufficient for the protection of the frontier. The Indians, divided into small parties, concealed themselves with so much dexterity, as seldom to be perceived until the blow was struck. These murders were frequently committed in the very neighbourhood of the forts, and the detachments which were employed in scouring the country were generally eluded or attacked to advantage. In one of these skirmishes in the neighbourhood of a stockade, the Americans were totally routed, and captain Mercer killed.

The smaller forts were very frequently assaulted and attacked. The people either abandoned the country, or attempted to secure themselves in small stockades, where they were in great distress for provisions, arms, and ammunition. Lord Loudon arrived in America, in July 1756, as commander in chief. He was clothed with the highest civil authority, having been appointed governor of the colony. A complimentary address from the regiment, stating their pleasure at his arrival and appointment, and the readiness with which they would execute his commands, was presented to him: also a statement of the distress of the colony, and a particular description of the situation of the military points.

An army was raised of about twelve thousand men, which was better prepared for the field than any army that had been assembled in America. But the change of commanders delayed the operations of the English army. The French were active, and on the 12th of July, general Abercrombie received intelligence that they meditated an attack upon Oswego, a

post of the utmost importance. General Webb was ordered to prepare to march with a regiment to support the defence of that place, but was detained until the 12th of August. Before he had proceeded far he learned it was too late.

By the loss of Oswego, all the western country was laid open to their ravages. There was reason to fear that the frontier posts would be swept away, one after another, and that all the preparations which had been made for an early attack on the enemy, would be lost with them. Besides, the enemy would have another year to fortify and strengthen their posts, and to render the reduction of them much more hazardous and difficult.

The colonies were obliged to submit, and lord Loudon sailed from New-York for Halifax, with six thousand land forces, and there made a junction with Holbourn and Hopson. Here was now an army of twelve thousand men, exclusive of officers, aided by a powerful fleet; but they were so dilatory in their measures that, before they were ready to sail, the Brest fleet, with seventeen sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, arrived at Louisburg. The garrison was so reinforced as to amount to nine thousand men. On the reception of this intelligence, it was judged inexpedient to proceed, and the expedition was given up.

Had the earl of Loudon been a man of enterprise, had he wished to distinguish himself in his majesty's service, or to have rendered himself popular in the colonies, he might have conducted this powerful army to Ticonderoga, and carried all before him, in that quarter. At least, he might have sent on large detachments for the defence of the frontiers. With his Prussian majesty, an Amherst, or a Wolfe, these would have been but natural and common achievements. But he returned leisurely to New-York, and effected nothing.

The British generals, in America, did more, in two years, by the pusillanimity, weakness and inconsistency of their councils, to injure the colonies, than the French could have done with all their force. The provincials would, probably, have advanced to Crown Point the last year, and made themselves masters of the country south of lake Champlain. They would undoubtedly have kept their own posts and prevented the evils which followed. The British generals and officers not only lost Oswego, but they destroyed the fortifications at the great carrying place; and filled Wood Creek with logs and trees. They cut off all communication between the colonies and the five nations, the only body of Indians which preserved the appearance of friendship to them. They abandoned their whole country to the mercy of the enemy. Nothing

could be done to prevent their collecting the Indians, from all quarters, to act against the colonies.

Monsieur Montcalm, did not neglect to improve the advantages he had gained, and which the conduct of the British generals afforded him. Finding that the troops were drawn off to Halifax, he at once determined on the siege of fort William Henry, and the destruction of the vessels, boats, and batteaux, at the south landing of lake George. Bodies of Indians, with his whole force, were collected for this purpose.

Colonel Monroe, who commanded at fort William Henry, having intelligence that an advanced party of the enemy lay at Ticonderoga, detached colonel Parker with four hundred men to surprise them. Having landed at night, not far distant from the enemy, he sent three boats to reconnoitre, directing them where to meet him in a general rendezvous. The enemy, waylaying and intercepting the boats, obtained a perfect knowledge of the colonel's designs, and concerted measures to decoy him into their hands. They laid an ambush behind the point where they knew he designed to land, and having been reinforced to nearly double his numbers, they sent three boats to the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The colonel mistaking them for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, and was instantly surrounded by the enemy. They attacked him on all sides with such incessant violence, that seventy privates and two officers only made their escape.

Elated with this success, Monsieur Montcalm hastened to the seige of fort William Henry. Having drawn together all his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, with a greater number of Indians than the French had ever employed on any other occasion, he passed the lake and regularly invested the fort. The whole army consisted of nearly eight thousand men. The garrison consisted of about three thousand, and the fortifications were said to be good. At fort Edward, scarcely fourteen miles distant, lay general Webb, with four thousand troops. The regular troops at the two posts, were probably more than equal to the regular force of the enemy. A considerable proportion of their army consisted of Canadians and Indians. Yet, in about six days, was this important post delivered up into the hands of the enemy. All the vessels, boats, and batteaux, which, at so much expense and labor, had been for two years preparing, fell into the power of the enemy. Though general Webb had timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet he never sent to alarm the country, and bring on the militia. He never reinforced the garrison, nor made a single motion for its relief. So far was he from this, that he sent a letter to colonel Monroe, who commanded the fort, advising him to give it up to the enemy.

Montcalm intercepted the letter, and sent it into the fort to the colonel. He had acted the part of a soldier and made a brave defence; but having burst a number of his cannon, expended a considerable part of his ammunition, and perceiving that he was to have no relief from general Webb, he capitulated on terms honorable for himself and the garrison. It was, to march out with arms, baggage, and one piece of cannon, in honor to colonel Monroe, for the brave defence he had made. The troops were not to serve against the most christian king under eighteen months, unless exchanged for an equal number of French prisoners. The French and Indians paid no regard to the articles of capitulation, but falling on the English, stripped them of their baggage and few remaining effects; and the Indians, in the English service, were dragged from the ranks, tomahawked and scalped. Men and women had their throats cut, their bodies ripped open, and their bowels, with insult, thrown in their faces. Infants and children were barbarously taken by the heels, and their brains dashed out against stones and trees. The Indians pursued the English nearly half the way to fort Edward, where the greatest number of them arrived in a most forlorn condition. It seems astonishing, that between two and three thousand troops, with arms in their hands, should, contrary to the most express stipulations, suffer these intolerable insults.

When it was too late, general Webb alarmed the country, and put the colonies to great expense in sending on large detachments of the militia for the defence of the northern frontier. The sudden capture of the fort, the massacre made by the enemy's Indians, and suspicions of general Webb's treachery, and an apprehension that general Montcalm would force his way to Albany, put the country into a state of great alarm and consternation. People were never more alarmed during the war. At the same time, there was never a more general and manly exertion. Connecticut detached and sent on, in a few days, about five thousand men. She had raised and sent into the field, fourteen hundred before, which was more than her proportion. Large reinforcements were marched on to Albany and fort Edward from New-York, and the other colonies. General Webb, notwithstanding the great numbers of men with which he was reinforced, did not make any effectual provision for the defence of the frontier settlements. No sooner was one expedition finished by the enemy, than another was undertaken. Soon after the reduction of fort William Henry, the enemy, with fire and sword, laid waste the fine settlements at the German flats, and on the Mohawk river.

On the American station there were nearly twenty thousand regular troops, and a large number of provincials in service; and yet one fortress and settlement after another were swept away; and every where the enemy rioted and triumphed with impunity. The army spent the remainder of the campaign in inactivity. The provincials, as the season for winter quarters approached, returned to their respective colonies. The regular troops were stationed at Albany and fort Edward. Thus ended the inglorious campaign of 1757.

By this time, under the repeated losses they had sustained, the colonies had very much lost their confidence in the British commanders in America. They for two years had witnessed their dilatory measures, their inconsistency, want of foresight and a spirit of enterprise, and had such bitter experience of the consequences, that they considered them as utterly disqualified for the important command which they held. To their incapacity and pusillanimity wholly, did they impute the loss of Oswego, fort William Henry, and their other losses on the frontiers.

Notwithstanding all the reinforcements which France had sent to Canada, they, every campaign, had a force much superior to the enemy. Had they been men of military genius, skill and enterprise, instead of the losses they sustained, they might have led on their troops to conquest and glory. Had the colonies been left to themselves, they would probably have done better. The first year of the war, when left to themselves, their achievements were honorable and useful to the nation: but now they had sustained two years of great expense, which had been worse than lost. Indeed, such were the ministry, and the men whom they employed, that misfortune and disaster attended them in almost every quarter of the globe.* A British historian observes, with respect to this third campaign in America, "That it ended to the eternal disgrace of those who then commanded the armies, and directed the councils of Great Britain."

By this time the disputes relative to the Ohio, Crown Point, and territory in America, had involved a great part of Europe in the flames of war. It had kindled in both the Indies, and extended its destructive influence beyond the Ganges. The disappointments and losses of the British nation for a succession of years, and its present exigences, absolutely demanded a change of men and measures. Men of capacity and enterprise were necessary to retrieve its honor, and prevent its

* There was one exception: admiral Watson and colonel Clive acted with great magnanimity and success upon the Ganges, in the East-Indies.

ruin. By a most happy turn in providence, those incomparable men, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Leg, and their friends, had been chosen and established in the ministry, and had time to concert their measures, and choose the men to carry them into execution. Now therefore, every thing relative to the nation, in Europe and America, took a new and surprising turn. Now men were brought forward, upon whose fidelity, skill, and spirit of enterprise, confidence might be placed.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and losses of the past years, they determined on the reduction of Louisburg, with a view of cutting off the communication between France and Canada, of destroying the French fishery, and of securing the trade and fisheries of Great Britain, and her colonies in America. At the same time, to gratify the colonies, and to draw forth their whole strength into exertion, they also determined on expeditions against Crown Point and fort Du Quesne.

Intimations of his majesty's designs, and of his expectations from the colonies, were, at an early period, given to them by letters from the right honorable Mr. Pitt. These were written in a style which animated their courage, and drew forth their most spirited exertions. The people of Connecticut, in particular, exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner.

A special assembly was convened on the 8th of March, at New Haven, when the right honorable Mr. Pitt's letter was communicated to the legislature, importing, that his majesty had nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts, to avert, by the blessings of God upon his arms, the dangers impending over North America; and not doubting but his faithful and brave subjects here would cheerfully co-operate with and second, to the utmost, the large expense and extraordinary succors supplied by his kingdom, for their preservation and defence: And that his majesty, judging that this colony, together with Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey, were able to furnish twenty thousand men, to join a body of the king's forces for invading Canada, and carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's possessions; and that it was his majesty's pleasure, that, with all possible despatch, there be raised as large a body of men as the number of inhabitants would allow, to begin the operations of the campaign, as soon as practicable. And that no encouragement might be wanting to so great and salutary an attempt, that strong recommendations would be made to parliament, to grant compensation for the expenses of said provinces, according as their active vigor and strenuous efforts should appear justly to merit.

The legislature resolved, That, notwithstanding this colony, when acting with the several provinces aforesaid, in the three several expeditions undertaken the preceding years, against Crown Point, hath raised a much greater number of men than its just proportion, in comparison with what they then raised, by means of which the number of men is greatly diminished and its strength much exhausted, yet that nothing be wanting, on the part of this colony, to promote the great and good design proposed by his majesty, and relying on his royal encouragement, five thousand good and effective men, including officers, shall be raised within this colony, as soon as may be, for the service aforesaid. It was resolved at the same time, that the assembly is sensible, that it is really more than the number of men this colony can allow, without great difficulty; and much exceeds this colony's proportion, even of twenty thousand men, when compared with the other provinces.

It was resolved that the said five thousand men should be formed into four regiments, consisting of twelve companies in each regiment. That there should be one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major and one chaplain to a regiment. The honorable Phinehas Lyman, Esq. who had a general's command in 1755, Nathan Whiting, Esq. Eliphalet Dyar, Esq. and John Read, Esq. were appointed colonels, to command the respective regiments.* The Rev. Messrs. George Beckwith, Joseph Fish, Benjamin Pomeroy and Jonathan Ingersoll, were appointed chaplains.

To encourage the speedy enlistment of men for the service, the bounty was increased much beyond what it had been in former years. All proper measures were adopted to raise the troops with expedition, and to have them seasonably in the field.

To provide for the expense of such a number of troops, the assembly enacted that thirty thousand pounds lawful money in bills of credit, at five per cent interest, should be immediately printed: and that for a fund for the sinking of said bills, a tax of eight pence on the pound should be levied on the grand list of the colony to be brought in, Anno Domini, 1760. It was provided, however, that such monies as should arrive from Great Britain for the reimbursement of the expenses of the war, should be applied, by the treasurer, for the purpose of sinking the said bills, and that if a sufficient sum should arrive

* Each colonel was allowed forty pounds for his table, and the decent support of his chaplain. Their wages as colonels, and captains for one company, was fifteen pounds per month. The bounty for each man who would equip himself for the field was four pounds. The wages were the same as in the preceding years.

before the time fixed for the payment of said tax, to sink the whole, that then said tax should not be levied, and that the act respecting it should be null and void.

That the treasurer might be able to pay the troops on their return from the public service, the assembly laid a tax of nine pence on the pound on the whole rateable estate of the colony, according to the list brought in to the assembly in October last, and ordered that it should be collected by the last of December then following. And as it was uncertain whether money would arrive, sufficient to reimburse the expenses of the colony, in season, a committee was appointed to borrow the sum of twenty five thousand pounds, to be paid before the 20th of May, 1761. For an ample fund to repay the sum to be borrowed, a tax of five pence on the pound was levied on the list which should be brought in to the assembly in 1759, to be paid into the treasury by the last of December, 1760. It was enacted also, that any of the notes given for the money borrowed, might be received in payment of said tax. But, as considerable sums of money were expected from England, for provisions, furnished for the troops under the command of lord Loudon, in 1756, it was enacted that said money, as fast as it should arrive, should be applied to discharge the notes given for the money borrowed; and that, if a sufficient sum should seasonably arrive to discharge all the notes, that then said tax should not be collected.

That nothing might be left undone, which could be attempted for his majesty's service, the commissioners appointed in October, to meet those from the other colonies, were now authorised to meet them at Hartford on the 19th of April, or as near that time as might be, to consult on measures for the general safety, and to excite the several colonies to the most vigorous and united exertions to carry his majesty's designs into execution.* As it appeared by Mr. Pitt's letter, that major general Abercrombie was chief commander of the troops for the northern expedition, the Governor was desired to give him the earliest information of the measures adopted by the colonies, and their vigorous preparations for an early and successful campaign.

While the colonies were employing the most vigorous exertions for an early campaign, such effectual measures had been pursued in England, that, in February, the armament designed for the reduction of Louisburg, was in readiness, and sailed for America. Admiral Boscawen commanded the naval, and general Amherst the land operations. Under general Amherst, was brigadier general Wolfe. These were men of singular characters. General Amherst had the coolness and abilities of

* Records of the colony for March 8th, 1758.

the Roman Fabius, while general Wolfe possessed the magnanimity and fire of the Scipios. From such men, great achievements might reasonably be expected; and their successes equalled the most sanguine expectations.

Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst, with the armament under their command, arrived safely in America; and on the 28th of May, the whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, with about fourteen thousand troops on board, took its departure from Halifax, and on the second of June appeared before Louisburg. For six days the landing of the troops was impracticable. The surf was so great, that no boat could live near the shore. On every part of the coast, where a landing was judged possible, the enemy had made entrenchments; and, in places most convenient for the purpose, they had erected batteries and mounted cannon. During the whole time after the discovery of the fleet, until the landing of the troops, the enemy employed themselves in strengthening their lines. These they manned with a numerous infantry. General Amherst, with a number of his officers, reconnoitered the shore.

On the eighth the weather became more favourable, though there was yet a great swell and surf. The General, determining not to lose a moment seized the opportunity. Before the break of day the troops were embarked in three divisions. The admiral and general made their dispositions with consummate judgment. To distract the enemy, and draw their attention to different parts, the dispositions were made in this manner:— The divisions on the right, and in the centre, were designed only for feints, while that on the left, was appointed for the real attack. This was commanded by general Wolfe. Before the landing, five frigates, and some other ships of war, commenced a furious fire, not only on the centre, but on the right and left of the enemy, to rake them in their flanks. When these had fired about fifteen minutes, general Wolfe pressed to the shore. The enemy reserved his fire until the boats were nearly in shore, and then poured upon them the united blaze and thunder of their musketry and cannon. Many of the boats were overset, and others dashed in pieces. Some of the men were thrown, and others leaped into the water; and while some were killed, and others drowned, the main body, supported and animated by the noble example and conduct of their commander, pushed to the land, and with such order and resolution rushed on the enemy, as soon put them into confusion, and drove them from their entrenchments. When general Wolfe had made good his landing, the centre division having moved to the left, and the right following the centre, the landing was completed in excellent order.

For many days, the weather was so bad, and the swell and surf so great, that scarcely any of the artillery or stores could be landed. It was with great difficulty that even the tents, provisions, and implements for the siege, were got on shore. The weather was so bad, at the time of landing, and during the siege, that a hundred boats were lost in the service. The enemy had five ships of the line, and one or more frigates, in the harbour, and could bring their guns to bear upon the troops, in their approaches. The ground was exceedingly bad; in some places rough, in others boggy, wet, and miry. These obstacles, with a brave resistance from the enemy, caused the siege, for some time to proceed slowly. But no discouragements were judged insurmountable, by such generals as Amherst and Wolfe. By the twelfth of June, general Wolfe had secured the point called the light house battery, and all the posts in that quarter. On the twenty-fifth, he had silenced the island battery; but the shipping in the harbour kept up the fire upon him until the twenty first of July. One of the ships then took fire and blew up. This set two others on fire, which burnt to the water's edge. This was to the enemy an irreparable loss.

By this time general Amherst had made his approaches near to the city; so that he was in good forwardness to make lodgments on the covered way. The town, in many places, was consumed to the ground, and in others, was much damaged. The fire of the enemy greatly languished, yet no proposals of capitulation were made. One bold action more was necessary to bring them to terms. That was to destroy, or bring off, the ships remaining in the harbour. For this purpose, the admiral sent in a detachment of six hundred men, under the command of two enterprising young captains, Laforey and Balfour. Between the 25th and 26th of the month, under the darkness of the night, they made their way through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, and, sword in hand took the two ships. One ran aground, and was burnt; the other they rowed out of the harbour, in triumph.

The next morning, the governor proposed terms of capitulation. The garrison, consisting of five thousand seven hundred and thirty seven men, surrendered prisoners of war. One hundred and twenty one cannon, eighteen mortars, and large quantities of stores and ammunition, were taken. The enemy lost five ships of the line and four frigates, besides other vessels. St. John's, with Louisburg, was given up, and the English became masters of the whole coast from St. Lawrence to Nova Scotia. This was the most effectual blow to France, which she had received since the commencement of the war. It was a deep wound to her navy, and especially to her colonies and interests in America. It very much cut off her communication

with Canada, and greatly facilitated the reduction of that country.

As the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was a favorite object with the northern colonies, they made early and great exertions for carrying it into effectual execution. Besides the assistance which they gave to the reduction of Louisburg, they furnished about ten thousand troops for the northern expedition. These in conjunction with between six and seven thousand regular troops, had, by the beginning of July, got into lake George more than a thousand boats and batteaux, a fine train of artillery, provisions, and every thing necessary for an attack on the fortresses of the enemy.

On the fifth of July, the army, consisting of fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety effective men, embarked in nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty five whale boats, for Ticonderoga. Besides, there were a number of rafts, on which cannon were mounted, to cover the landing of the troops. Early the next morning, they landed at the north end of lake George, without opposition. The army formed in four columns, and began their march for Ticonderoga. But as the woods were thick, and the guides unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns falling in one upon another, were entirely broken. In this confusion, lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy consisting of a battalion of regulars and a few Indians, who had deserted their advanced camp near the lake, and were precipitately fleeing from our troops; but had lost their way, and were bewildered in the same manner as they were. The enemy discharged, and killed lord Howe the first fire. The suddenness of the attack, the terribleness of the Indian yell, and the fall of lord Howe, threw the regulars, who composed the centre columns, into a general panic and confusion; but the provincials, who flanked them, and were acquainted with their mode of fighting, stood their ground and soon defeated them. The loss of the enemy, was about three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty eight taken. The loss of the English was inconsiderable as to numbers, but in worth and consequences, it was great. The loss of that gallant officer, lord Howe, was irreparable. From the day of his arrival in America, he had conformed himself, and made his regiment to conform, to that kind of service which the country required. He was the first to endure hunger and fatigue, to encounter danger, and to sacrifice all personal considerations to the public service. While he was rigid in discipline, by his affability, condescending and easy manners, he conciliated affection, and commanded universal esteem. Indeed, he was considered very much as the idol and life of the army. The loss

of such a man, at such a time, cannot be estimated. To this, the provincials attributed the defeat and unhappy consequences which followed.

As the troops for two nights had slept little, were greatly fatigued, and needed refreshment, the general ordered them to return to the landing place, where they arrived at eight in the morning.

Colonel Bradstreet was soon after detached with a strong corps, to take possession of the saw mill, about two miles from Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. Towards the close of the day, the whole army marched to the mill. The general having received information, that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men, and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, determined to lose no time in attacking their lines. He ordered his engineer to reconnoitre the ground and intrenchments of the enemy. It seems that he had not so approached and examined them as to obtain any proper idea of them. He made a favorable report of their weakness, and of the facility of forcing them without cannon. On this groundless report, a rash and fatal resolution was taken, to attack the lines without bringing up the artillery.

The army advanced to the charge with the greatest intrepidity, and for more than four hours with incredible obstinacy maintained the attack. But the works where the principal attack was made were eight or nine feet high, and impregnable even by field pieces; and for nearly an hundred yards from the breast work, trees were felled so thick, and so wrought together with their limbs pointing outward, that it rendered the approach of the troops in a great measure impossible. In this dreadful situation, under the fire of about three thousand of the enemy, these gallant troops were kept, without the least prospect of success, until nearly two thousand were killed and wounded. They were then called off. To this rash and precipitate attack succeeded a retreat equally unadvised and precipitate. By the evening of the next day the army had retreated to their former encampment at the south end of lake George.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the opinions, or more mortifying to the feelings of the provincials, than this whole affair. They viewed the attack upon the lines without the artillery as the height of madness. Besides, it was made under every disadvantage to the assailants. The enemy's lines were of great extent, nearly three quarters of a mile. On the right of the common path towards south bay, and especially on the north, they were weak and of little consideration. In both these quarters they might have been approached under

the cover of a thick wood. The army was sufficiently numerous to have attacked the lines in their whole extent at once, or at least in a very great part of them, and to have drawn their attention to various parts of their lines. But, unhappily, the attack was made upon a small part of them where they were far the strongest, and most inaccessible. As no attacks or feints were made in other parts, the enemy were left to pour their whole fire on a small spot, while the whole army could not approach it. Besides, the general never approached the field, where his presence was indispensably necessary; but remained at the mill, where he could see nothing of the action, nor know any thing only by information at a distance of two miles. By reason of this, the troops for hours after they should have been called off, were pushed on to inevitable slaughter.

But especially did the provincials reprobate the retreat. They considered themselves as more than a match for the enemy, should their pretended reinforcements arrive. The army, after this bloody affair, consisted of fourteen thousand effective men. After all the pompous accounts of the numbers of the enemy, they amounted to little more than three thousand. When the general retreated, he had more than four effective men to one of theirs. He had a fine train of artillery, and there were strong grounds on which he might have encamped with the utmost safety. There were eminences which commanded all the works of the enemy, whence he might have enfiladed their front, and poured destruction on their whole lines and camp.

The provincial officers were therefore clearly of the opinion that there was the fairest prospect of success, notwithstanding their misfortune, could the expedition only be prosecuted with energy and prudence. But the general took his own way, without advising with them, and appeared to retreat with the utmost perturbation.

The general never had been high in the estimation of the provincials after the loss of Oswego; but now he sunk into contempt. They generally called him Mrs. Nabbycrombie, importing that petticoats would much better become him than breeches. To repair as far as might be, the disaster at Ticonderoga, the general detached colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand provincials, on an expedition against fort Frontenac, It was planned by the colonel, and undertaken at his desire. Notwithstanding the great distance of this post from Lake George, and the numerous obstacles in his march, he reached lake Ontario, embarked his troops, and landed them in the short term of about a month, within one mile of the enemy's post. Having secured his landing, he immediately invested

the fort. The enemy made no opposition, but, after two days, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This important post was on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just where it takes its rise from lake Ontario. The fort not only commanded the entrance of the river from the lake, but was the grand magazine for supplying Niagara, du Quesne, and all the enemy's southern and western garrisons. But as no attack had been expected in this quarter, and the enemy had been drawn off, for the defence of Ticonderoga, and their southern posts, the garrison consisted only of one hundred and thirty men. But there were in the fort sixty cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and goods. They were valued by the French at eight hundred thousand livres. Nine armed vessels, from eight to eighteen guns were taken. This was the whole naval force which the enemy had on the lake. After this enterprising officer had destroyed the fort, stores, provisions and shipping, except two vessels, and what he could carry on board of them, he returned with them, richly laden, to Oswego.

This fortunate event, with the attempt on Ticondaroga, was attended with very important consequences. It frustrated the expedition of Monsieur Levi against the settlements on the Mohawk river, recovered the communication between Albany and Oswego; and once more gave us the command of lake Ontario. It greatly obstructed the communication between Canada, Niagara, and the southern and western settlements.

General Amherst having placed a strong garrison at Louisburg, and having made the dispositions necessary for the security of the adjacent country, proceeded to Boston, with six regiments, and thence marched through the country, to reinforce the army at lake George. He designed, if the season should not be too far advanced, to achieve something further for the service of his country.

While these events were taking place in the northern department, general Forbes, who had been appointed to command the expedition to the southward, was advancing with great activity and labour, to the conquest of fort du Quesne. About eight thousand men had been assigned to this service. In June, the general marched from Philadelphia for the Ohio. His march lay through a vast tract of country but little known, destitute of roads for the marching of armies, and encumbered with wood, morasses and mountains almost impassable. It was with incredible difficulty that he procured provisions and carriages for the expedition; that he formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured his camp, from time to time, and surmounted the numerous obstructions which presented themselves in his tedious march. In addition to the other difficulties, which in-

peded his march, the hostile Indians kept a constant watch upon all his movements, and, in small detachments, neglected no opportunity to obstruct and harrass him as he advanced.

When he had arrived at Ray's town, about ninety miles from du Quesne, he sent forward colonel Bouquet, with a detachment of a thousand men, to Lyal Henning, within about forty miles of the fort. The colonel, from this post, detached major Grant, with eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the situation and works of the enemy; and, if practicable, to reduce the post by a coup de main. The enemy discovered them as they approached, and detached a body of troops sufficient completely to surround them. A severe action ensued, which, for three hours, the English, with great spirit maintained against so great a superiority. But, finally, they were overpowered, obliged to give way, and retreated with disorder to Lyal Henning. About three hundred men were killed and taken. Among the latter was major Grant, and nineteen other officers, who were carried prisoners to fort du Quesne. This severe check made no alteration in the resolution of general Forbes. He still advanced, with that persevering firmness and circumspection, which had marked his whole conduct. The enemy, perceiving that it was impossible to surprise and defeat him on his march, and that their numbers were not sufficient to maintain the post against him, on the twenty-fourth of November, destroyed their works and abandoned the post to the general. His light troops took possession the following evening. The next day the general arrived with his whole army, and the British flag was once more erected at fort du Quesne. The French made their escape down the river, partly in boats and partly by land, to their settlements on the Mississippi.

General Forbes repaired the fort and named it Fort Pitt, in honor to secretary Pitt. Having concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian nations of that fine and extensive country, and apparently reconciled them to the English government, he committed the care of the fort to a garrison of provincials, and took his departure for Philadelphia. On his return, he erected some small fortresses at Lyal Henning, for the defence of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania.

The incredible fatigues of this campaign so broke the constitution of this vigilant and brave commander, that he returned to Philadelphia in a very enfeebled state; where, after languishing a short time, he died, universally lamented.

When general Amherst arrived with his troops at the lake, the season was so far advanced, and such a body of troops had been drawn off, for the expedition under colonel Bradstreet, that he judged it unadvisable to make any further attempts against the enemy during that campaign.

Notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, the campaign closed with great honour and advantage, not only to the colonies, but to the nation in general. In this fourth year after the commencement of hostilities, the English had not only reduced Louisburg, St. Johns, and Frontenac; but had made themselves the undisturbed possessors of that fine tract of country, the contention for which had kindled the flames of war in so general and destructive a manner. Success had attended the British arms, not only in America, but in almost every quarter of the globe. The successes in America, besides many other important advantages, paved the way for that series of successful events, which terminated in the entire reduction of Canada.

Another favourable occurrence of this year, which had its influence in that great event, was a general treaty and pacification with all the Indian nations, inhabiting between the Appalachian mountains and the lakes. This was completed at Easton, on the eighth of October.

In review of the events of the present and past years of the war, the immense importance of having men of capacity, fidelity, and enterprise, at the head of government, appears in a convincing and striking point of light. Under the old ministry and their generals, for three successive years, nothing but loss, disappointment, and shame, attended every enterprise. Not one general officer, of their appointment, in America, ever achieved any thing magnanimous or honourable; but hesitation, delay, and disappointment, attended all their measures. On the contrary, under the new ministry, and the generals and officers originally of their appointment, every enterprise was crowned with success. A series of most important and brilliant successes, from every quarter, like a steady, all cheering stream, flowed in upon the nation.

1749. It was proposed to attack Canada, and it was determined that three powerful armies should enter the country by different routs, and commence an attack at the same time. General Amherst, who commanded one division, in his rout attacked Ticonderoga. The garrison soon surrendered, as the principal part of them had retired to Crown Point. General Amherst proceeded against this place, and took possession of it, but the enemy before their arrival, fled to Isle aux Noix, in the northern part of lake Champlain. The second party, commanded by general Prideaux, was destined against Niagara, but he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. Sir William Johnson, on whom the command now rested, successfully put in execution the plans of his lamented predecessor; and on the twenty-fourth of July, a general battle took place. The action was warm and bloody, and the carnage was great; but the conflict was short, which placed Niagara in the hands of the English. An expedition against Quebeck was the most daring and important.

That place was so well strengthened, that all expeditions against it had failed. It was commanded by Montcalm, who was posted below the town, with a strong force, and the town was covered by an army of 10,000 men. General Wolfe was determined to try his skill in this case. He soon took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and erected batteries. By means of these, he destroyed many houses, but made little impression on the fortifications of the town; he resolved to quit his post.

General Wolfe made several attempts to reduce the place, but they all proved unsuccessfull. He also attempted to destroy the shipping; this attempt also proved abortive. Stung with chagrin at his own disappointment, general Wolfe determined to assend a precipice of about one hundred and seventy five feet, by which he might gain the heights of Abraham. And on the night of the 12th of September, he dropped down . river, and at the break of day, September 13th, the army was formed on the heights of Abraham, ready to meet the enemy, ere Montcalm, the French general, was aware of it.

On the 12th of September, one hour after midnight, general Wolfe, with his army, leaving the ships, embarked in boats, and silently dropped down with the current, intending to land a league above cape Diamond, and thus to gain the heights of Abraham. But, owing to the rapidity of the current, they fell below their intended place, and disembarked at what is now called Wolfe's cove, a mile, or a mile and a half, above the city. The operation was a most critical one—they had to navigate in silence, down a rapid stream—to hit upon the right place for a landing, which in the dark, might be easily mistaken—the shore was shelving, and the bank to be ascended was steep and lofty, and scarcely practicable, even without opposition. Doubtless, it was this combination of circumstances, which lulled the vigilance of the wary and discerning Montcalm: he thought such an enterprise absolutely impracticable, and therefore had stationed only sentinels and picket guards aloug this precipitous shore.

Indeed, the attempt was in the greatest danger of being defeated by an occurrence, which is very interesting, as marking much more emphatically, than dry official accounts can do, the very great delicacy of the transaction.

One of the French sentinels, posted along the shore, challenged the English boats in the customary military language of the French; "*Qui vit!*" who goes there! to which a captain of Frazer's regiment, who had served in Holland, and was familiar with the French language and customs, promptly replied, "*la France.*" The next question was much more embarrassing, for the sentinel demanded, "*a quel regiment?*" "to

what regiment." The captain, who happened to know the name of one of the regiments which was up the river, with Bougainville, promptly rejoined, "*de la Reine*," "the queen's." The soldier immediately replied, "*passe*," for he concluded at once, that this was a French convoy of provisions, which, as the English had learned, from some deserters, was expected to pass down the river to Quebec. The other sentinels were deceived in a similar manner; but one, less credulous than the rest, running down to the water's edge, called out, "Pourquoi est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?" why dont you speak louder?" The same captain, with perfect self-command, replied, "Tai toi, nous, serons, entendues!" "hush, we shall be overheard and discovered." The sentry, satisfied with this caution, retired. The British boats were on the point of being fired into, by the captain of one of their own transport ships, who, ignorant of what was going on, took them for French; but general Wolfe perceiving the commotion on board, rowed along side in person, and prevented the firing, which would have alarmed the town, and frustrated the enterprise. General Wolfe, although greatly reduced by a fever, to which a dysentery was superadded, was nevertheless the first man to leap ashore. The rugged precipices, full of projections of rocks and of trees, and shrubs growing every where among the cliffs, into which the bank was broken, presented a most forbidding appearance, and general Wolfe familiarly speaking to an officer who stood by, said, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up, but you must do your endeavour." There was only a narrow path, leading obliquely up the hill; this had been rendered by the enemy impassable, in consequence of being broken up by cross ditches, and there was besides an entrenchment at the top, defended by a captain's guard. This guard was easily dispersed, and the troops then pulled themselves up by taking hold of the boughs and stumps of the trees, and of the projections of the rocks.

This precipice, (which may be in different places, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high,) is still very rude and rugged, but probably much less so than in 1759; it can now be surmounted, without very great difficulty, by men who are unmolested.

Wolfe staking all, upon a very hazardous adventure; had he been discovered prematurely, through a spy, a deserter, or an alarmed sentry, his army would have been inevitably lost; but having gained the heights, he formed his troops, and met the enemy in good order.

The plains of Abraham lie south and west of Quebec, and commence the moment you leave the walls of the city. They are a very elevated tract of ground; this must of course be

the fact, as they are on the summit of the heights which terminate at the river; they are nearly level—free from trees and all other obstacles, and I presume were nearly so at the time of the battle. Our military friend, captain ——, with true professional feelings, remarked, that it was "*a fine place for a battle.*" I went to the brink of the precipice, where my guide assured me that Wolfe and the army came up; a foot path, much trodden, leads through low bushes to the spot. I presume, that five hundred men, posted on this edge, would have repelled the whole army.

It was about an hour before the dawn, that the army began to ascend the precipice, and by day light, they were formed and in perfect preparation to meet the enemy.

When Montcalm first received information that the English occupied the heights of Abraham, he was greatly surprised. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared to fight. The French advanced briskly; the English reserved their fire, until the enemy were near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe received a slight wound in his wrist, but binding his handkerchief around it, he continued to encourage his men.

Soon after this he received another in his groin. This he also concealed, and continued to urge on his troops, until a third ball pierced his breast, which obliged him to quit the command, which fell on Monckton. He was soon wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. At this moment, Montcalm, fighting at the head of his men, was mortally wounded, and general Jennezergus, his second in command, also fell. The loss of their commanders caused the French to give way. Wolfe, who was reclining his head on the arm of an officer, was aroused by the cry of "they fly—they fly!" the hero eagerly asked, "who fly?" being informed the French were routed, "then," said he, "I die in peace," and expired.

This death, says professor Silliman, has furnished a grand and pathetic subject for the painter, the poet, the historian, and undoubtedly, considered as a mere military glory, it is one of the most sublime that the annals of war afford. In five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison.

The following anecdote may serve as a specimen of the sufferings then common to French and Indian wars.

"Captain Ochterlony, and ensign Peyton, belonged to the regiment of brigadier-general Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty; the first was a North-Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the

day that preceded the battle, captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer, in which, though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which, his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action the next day; but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencounter, had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket ball, an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil; but he still continued advancing, until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed further. About the same time, Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigoted to a severe point of honor, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring he would not leave his captain in such a situation; and, in a little time, they remained sole survivors on that part of the field.

"Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other; yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners; for the captain, seeing a French soldier, with two Indians, approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who, coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down; but the blow, missing his head, took place upon his shoulders. At the same instant, the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman, who cried out, 'O Peyton! the villain has shot me.' Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping knife. The captain having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action.

The three ruffians finding him still alive endeavored to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead on the spot. The other, thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him, and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim, at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece a second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then, rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet through his body; he repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand; nevertheless, he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and, with his right, drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it into the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued; but at length, Mr. Peyton was uppermost, and with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken effect on the body of the Indian; he accordingly turned him up, and stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear bought victory, he started up on one leg, and saw captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breast-work, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud, 'captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately.' A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left, in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead, that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect; for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and in that case, he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, ran above forty yards without halting, and feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step further, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting to be joined by their fellows; while the French, from their breast-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this

poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance, a Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was captain Macdonald, of colonel Frazer's battalion; who, understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where, in a few days, he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him, declared that, in all probability, he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had he not been mortally wounded in the belly, by the Indian's scalping knife.

"As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, general Townsend, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen, who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain."

In September, 1760, Montreal fell into the hands of the English, and soon after, all the French posts in Canada fell into their power. Thus ended a war which had continued six years, which had cost many thousand lives, and much distress. In 1763, Nova Scotia, Canada, the Isle of Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and near St. Lawrence, were ceded to the British crown.

REMARKS ON PART SECOND.

Manners and Customs.—The rapid increase of wealth began to introduce among the colonies the tastes and fashions of the Europeans countries, but their continuance was short among the Americans.

Religion.—The Dutch reformed religion generally prevailed in New-York during this period, Shakers and Friends arrived in America. During the French and Indian war, infidelity was introduced into the army by the English officers and soldiers who came into this country, and from the army it spread through society generally.—*Population* 2,500,000.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

Part Third.

CHAPTER VI.

A summary view of the Causes that led to the American Revolution.

Although the narrow and illiberal policy of the British government towards her North American colonies, from their first settlement, was calculated to alienate the affections of the colonies from the parent country; yet from their exposed situation, and habitual loyalty, this unworthy conduct, long perserved in, produced no sensible impression on the Americans: their loyalty and attachment to the interests of Britain were not in the smallest degree impaired, down to the period of the peace of Paris in 1763. Never had they shewn so much zeal, or made such great sacrifices in the cause of their country, as during the preceding war; having lost more than twenty-five thousand men, expended all the revenues they could raise, and involved themselves deeply in debt. Almost the whole burdens of the war in America had fallen on the colonies; and their exertions were altogether disproportionate to their means, and tended greatly to impoverish and distress them. After eight years' arduous struggles, attended with the greatest sacrifices, the successful termination of the war—the dominion of France in America being relinquished forever—occasioned universal joy throughout the colonies; they forgot their sufferings and distresses, in the fair prospects which the peace afforded.

But these prospects were of short duration; the peace of Paris formed a new era in the views and conduct of Great Britain towards her colonies in America. The possessions of France, in America, having been ceded to Britain, and having no longer any fear of her power in this hemisphere, a system of

measures was pursued towards the colonies, originating in jealousy, and tending to despotism. As soon as the colonies had fought their way to a condition which afforded the prospect of rapidly increasing in population and wealth, attempts were made to restrict their commercial and political privileges, and gradually to reduce them to the most wretched state of colonial vasalage. For a century and a half, the colonies had been left to themselves as to taxation; their own local assemblies had provided the necessary revenues to defray the expenses of their governments; and the parliament of Great Britain had neither directly or indirectly ever attempted to derive a dollar of revenue from America; although various acts had from time to time been passed, regulating the trade and commerce of the colonies, yet none of these were designed or regarded, either in Britain or America, as revenue laws.

But in an inauspicious moment, the British ministry conceived the idea of taxing the colonies, under the pretence of providing for their protection, but in reality to relieve the nation from the immense debt, the weight of which hung heavily upon it. This iniquitous scheme, originating with the cabinet was easily introduced into parliament; and in March, 1764, as a prelude to the memorable *Stamp Act*, the house of commons resolved, "That towards further defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, *it may be necessary to charge certain stamp duties upon them;*" and this resolution was followed by what was commonly called the Sugar Act, passed on the 5th of April, and introduced by the following truly alarming preamble:—"Whereas it is *just* and *necessary* that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same; we, the commons, &c. towards raising the same, give and grant unto your majesty, after the 29th day of September, 1764, on clayed sugar, indigo and coffee, of foreign produce, [and various other articles] the sum of," &c. This was the first act adopted by parliament, for the avowed object of raising a revenue in the colonies. The *justice* of this measure, which appeared so clear to the British parliament, was regarded in America as *oppression* and *tyranny*, and occasioned great excitement and alarm. The deceptive pretension, that the revenue was to be raised for the purpose of protecting the colonies, was only adding insult to injustice; as the colonies supposed that they were capable of protecting themselves, and they apprehended that the object was rather under the pretence of affording them protection, to maintain a military force in America, for the purpose of dragooning them into submission, and enforcing an unconstitutional system of taxation; thereby rendering them the instruments of forging their own chains. This act was rendered more dis-

gusting, by a provision that the money raised by it must be paid in specie, and another, that those charged with having violated the revenue laws, might be prosecuted in the courts of admiralty; whereby they were deprived of the privilege of trial by a jury, and were liable to be condemned by a single officer of the crown, whose salary was to be paid from the very forfeitures decreed by himself. And this was not all, or even the worst; as the trial was conducted on such principles, that the accused, contrary to the well known maxims of the common law, and repugnant to every idea of justice, was obliged to prove himself innocent, or suffer the penalties of the law. These iniquitous proceedings destroyed all security of property, and left every one at the mercy of the minions of the British crown. Their pernicious influence was soon felt extensively in the colonies, they no longer regarded Great Britain as an affectionate mother, but viewed her in the light of a selfish, cruel and imperious step-mother. The designs of the ministry were penetrated, and occasioned great alarm, which spread wider and wider, until it became universal. The press, that great engine of truth and liberty, was called into requisition; the subject was ably and elaborately discussed; and the more it was discussed, and the better it was understood, the more strong and determined the opposition became. All the colonies petitioned and remonstrated against these obnoxious measures, and most of them appointed agents to present their memprials to parliament, or the king.

But notwithstanding the excitement and opposition in America, and the remonstrances of the colonies, Mr. Grenville, who was at the head of the treasury, prepared the Stamp-Bill, and introduced it into parliament in February, 1765; and although opposed with all the powers of eloquence, by Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, Colonel Barre, Sir William Meredith and others, it was adopted by a great majority; fifty only voting in opposition, out of about three hundred members, who were present. On the second reading of the bill, various petitions, not only from the colonies, but from the London merchants interested in the American trade, were presented; but the petitions were not even received, being refused, on the plea that no memorial could be received on a money bill. Having passed both houses of parliament, on the 22d of March, the Stamp-Act received the royal assent. Dr. Franklin, then in England, as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the lamps of industry and economy." Mr. Thompson, in a spirited reply, observed, "That he thought *other lights* would be lighted up to resist these unconstitutional measures." It is unnecessary to add, that this prediction was soon fulfilled.

This unjust and impolitic act was the first great cause which led to the American revolution ; indeed it was substantially the first scene in the bloody drama of that revolution. It was passed in parliament, on the 7th of February, 1765, under the ministry of Lord Grenville, and was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766, from the influence of Mr. Pitt. This period of thirteen months was the most eventful and tumultuous of any which had hitherto occurred ; the apprehensions of the people were roused to the highest pitch, and the most determined spirit of opposition prevailed throughout the colonies. The Americans had not believed that the act would be passed, and on receiving the intelligence, every one was struck with astonishment, and filled with consternation ; they looked at each other with amazement, and for a short interval, hesitated what course to pursue ; but soon recovering from their consternation, they determined not to submit to such a flagrant outrage on their rights. In Boston, the ships in the harbor, in token of the deepest mourning, suspended their colours half-mast high; the bells were rung muffled ; and the obnoxious act, with a death's head in front of it, with the motto—"*The folly of England and the ruin of America*," was carried in solemn procession about the streets. The discontents soon spread throughout the colonies, and the opposition became general and determined ; the spirit of the people gave a tone to the colonial assemblies, and bold and decided resolutions were adopted against the iniquitous scheme of parlimentary taxation. Virginia took the lead, and on the 28th of May, 1765, Patrick Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions into the house of burgesses, which declared that the inhabitants of that colony were entitled to, and had possessed and enjoyed all the rights, liberties and privileges of the people of Great Britain ; that the general assembly of the colony had always exercised and alone possessed the power to levy taxes and imposts on the inhabitants of the colony, and that they " were not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them other than the law and ordinances of the general assembly." So bold and unexpected were these resolutions, that whilst they were reading, one of the members cried out " treason ! treason !"

These resolutions were communicated to all the colonies, and the spirit they breathed spread from one legislature to another, and their sentiments were reiterated in resolutions adopted by the legislatures and the freemen in public meetings. Committees were appointed, by the assemblies of the colonies, to correspond with each other, and to meet for consultation ; the object of which was to secure harmony of feeling and concert of action. These measures had a very happy effect; in the mean

time, the press teemed with constant publications, vindicating the rights of the colonies; and many of them were of a highly inflammatory character, calculated to raise the public mind to the highest pitch. The pulpit also, particularly in New-England, labored in the same cause with great zeal and effect; the flame of liberty kindled from breast to breast, and spread from province to province, until the conflagration became general. The spirit of opposition ran so high as to break out into acts of tumult and disorder. In Boston the effigy of Mr. Oliver, the stamp master, was burnt and his house assailed, partly demolished, and his furniture destroyed; and soon after, the house of William Storer, deputy-register of the court of admiralty, was attacked, and the books and files of the court destroyed; and the house of Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs, shared the same fate. These outrages were followed by a more bold and daring attack upon the dwelling of Mr. Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of the province; he was obliged to flee to save his life, and his house was entirely demolished, except the walls, and every thing in it destroyed or carried off. Similar outrages were committed in other places. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the stamp officer, was burnt in effigy in many towns; and whilst he was proceeding from New Haven to Hartford, where the assembly was in session, he was pursued and overtaken by a large concourse of people, some from more than thirty miles, and compelled to resign his office, which was followed by three hearty cheers of liberty and property. This took place at Wethersfield, from whence the people, who were headed by militia officers, proceeded to Hartford, where Mr. Ingersoll was compelled to read his resignation in the hearing of the assembly, which was succeeded by loud acclamations of liberty and property. In New York the stamp officer was compelled to resign, and Lieutenant Governor Colden was burnt in effigy, with a stamp bill in his hand, suspended from his own coach, and the whole was consumed together.

In the southern colonies, the public feeling did not lead to the same excesses; but in all of them, means were found to compel the stamp officers to resign; and in all the colonies the assemblies adopted resolutions in opposition to the stamp act, although in many of them the royal governors prorogued and attempted to stop their proceedings. The members of the colonial assemblies were animated and encouraged by the people, who, in most of the towns, instructed them to oppose the stamp act. But the most important measure to unite the colonies and give energy and effect to their opposition, was convening a continental congress, consisting of deputies appointed by each colony. This measure was first proposed by the assembly of Massachusetts. The meeting was appointed to be hol-

den in New York, in October, 1765. All the colonies, except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, sent deputies; the three last of these colonies were prevented by their governors, and the first excused itself on account of its peculiar situation. The congress, after mature deliberation, adopted a declaration of rights, and a statement of the grievances of the colonies, and asserted in the strongest terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. It also prepared a petition to the house of commons.

As the first of November, the time when the stamp-act was to go into operation, approached, public feeling became still stronger, and was excited to the utmost to prevent the execution of the law. In New York, ten boxes of stamps, which had arrived there for Connecticut, were seized by the populace and burned; and in other ports, the masters of vessels, which brought out stamps, were compelled to return with their detestable cargoes, or deliver them up to the people to be destroyed. In Boston and many of the principal towns, the first of November was kept as a day of mourning and deep distress; all the shops were shut, the bells were tolled muffled, and the effigies of the authors and abettors of the act were carried in procession through the streets, and then torn to pieces and consumed by the flames.

The lawyers of the supreme court in New Jersey resolved that they would not purchase the stamps in their professional business, and that they would relinquish their practice as a sacrifice to the public good; and the principal merchants in the colonies, and great numbers of other classes of the inhabitants, entered into solemn engagements not only to refuse to use the stamps, but also not to import any more goods from Great Britain until the stamp act should be repealed. Associations were formed, called the "Sons of Liberty," the object of which was, to assist and protect with force, if necessary, every one who might be in danger from his resistance or opposition to the stamp act. This bold association originated in New York, and prevailed throughout New England, and, had not the act been repealed, must have led to civil war. The restrictive measures produced distress and tumults in England; large numbers of the manufactures being thrown out of employment, and more than forty thousand, with black flags, appeared in the streets in London, and surrounded the royal palace and parliament house. Fortunately a change of ministry took place, in consequence of what was called the regency bill, and Lord Grenville was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury, and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. In January the parliament met; the affairs of America occupied the principal attention, and the

first talents of the house were engaged in the discussion. Mr. Pitt, who had been confined to his bed by sickness, when the stamp act was passed, now came forward as the great champion of the rights of the Americans, and with his manly and all powerful eloquence, opposed the unjust, unconstitutional, and dangerous measure; he even justified the Americans in their resistance of an act of tyranny and oppression. After a long and animated discussion, the act was repealed, accompanied, however, with a declaration, "that the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever.*" An act of indemnity was also passed.

The repeal of the obnoxious act occasioned universal joy, both in Great Britain and America; the ships in the Thames displayed their colours, and the whole city of London was illuminated; and in the colonies, notwithstanding the declaratory act, asserting the principle of taxation, the joy and rejoicings were universal; the non-importation resolutions were rescinded; animosities, ill treatment, and every thing past, were forgotten, and commercial intercourse with Great Britain was resumed with greater activity than ever before had been witnessed. The colonies hoped and believed, that harmony, would now be restored, and did every thing in their power to promote this desirable object. But the officers of the crown, the minions of power, and the expectants of place, kept up a correspondence with the officers of the British government at home, and attempted to promote their own selfish views by misrepresenting their countrymen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, was the head of this party, which contributed so much to breed difficulties and bring matters to a crisis. Notwithstanding that the declaratory act still hung over the heads of the colonies, like a portentous cloud, it was not generally expected that the British government would very soon make another so dangerous an experiment. But these reasonable expectations, however, soon proved to be fallacious, and all reliance on the justice or liberality of Britain, were found to be deceptive and dangerous. Notwithstanding the distraction into which the colonies had been thrown, by the stamp act, within a few months after its repeal, and before the wounds it had occasioned had had time to heal, the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townsend, came forward with a new scheme of taxing America, and was so sanguine in his views, that he pledged his character for the success of the project. The new revenue scheme was, to take off the duties on teas, which were paid in Great Britain, and to levy three pence per pound on all that was purchased in America, and also a duty on pa-

per, glass and several other articles. A board of customs was established, and commissioners appointed to set in Boston to collect the duties; and the custom-officers were to be paid from the revenue thus raised; and the governor, judges of the superior court, and other officers in Massachusetts, who had hitherto been dependant for their salaries on the assembly, to render them independent of the people, and more devoted to Great Britain, were also to be paid from these revenues. And to carry the iniquitous system into effect (as unjust laws can only be enforced by unjust means,) the powers of the court of admiralty were greatly extended, so as to deprive the people of trial by jury in prosecutions for violating the revenue laws. Writs of Assistance, as they were called, issued by the governor, or any officer of the revenue, authorised searching the house of the most respectable inhabitant in the province, on suspicion of the concealment of contraband or smuggled goods.

When intelligence of these new parliamentary regulations reached America, they occasioned universal astonishment, and revived all the excitement and alarm which prevailed during the stamp act. In the minds of reflecting men they were regarded as more dangerous than that obnoxious act, as an indirect and disguised system of taxation had a more certain and fatal tendency to undermine the liberties and enslave the people, than direct taxes. The colonies, assailed by the same injuries, had recourse to their former measures of complaint and supplication; but their petitions were not even read, and their remonstrances treated with contempt, thus adding insult to injustice. These accumulated injuries and indignities aroused the fears and spirit of the colonies; and a circular letter, addressed to the other colonies, by the assembly of Massachusetts, contributed to diffuse the flame and lead to concert of action. This letter was dated the 11th of February, 1768, and the sentiments it contained were reiterated by most of the colonial assemblies. From the bold and determined conduct of the assembly of Massachusetts, it was prorogued by the governor. Another assembly was convened in May following, to which the governor, in his first communication, insolently *demanded* of them, as required by the British Secretary of State, to *rescind* the resolutions of the preceding assembly, which led to the circular letter, and intimated that unless they complied immediately, they would be dissolved at once. But the assembly acted with a firmness which became the defenders of liberty; and instead of complying with this haughty mandate, petitioned the king for the removal of the royal governor, and charged upon him a long catalogue of crimes. The governor, exasperated at their conduct, immediately dissolved the mutinous assembly, and applied to the commander in chief of the king's troops,

then in New York, to have several additional regiments sent to Boston. Alarmed at these circumstances, the inhabitants of Boston besought the governor to convene another assembly; but he treated their request with contempt. The crisis required something to be done, without delay, and accordingly, letters were written to every town in the colony, requesting the appointment of delegates to meet in convention at Boston, before the arrival of the troops. Delegates from ninety six towns met on the 22d of September. The governor instantly sent them an angry message, commanding them to disperse, threatening, in case of refusal, that they would suffer the consequence of their temerity. The convention, however, was not frightened into submission, but gave their reasons for convening, continued their deliberations, and prepared a petition to the king.

On the first of October, the troops arrived and landed; and, sword in hand, paraded through the streets of Boston, which were filled with vast crowds, who with sullen silence, denoting the deepest resentment, witnessed this, the first act in the great and bloody drama about to be performed. No tumult or resistance however, ensued, notwithstanding the troops were quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. The assembly met in May, 1769, and immediately adopted several spirited resolutions; that the placing an armed force where the legislature was convened, to overawe their deliberations, was a breach of privilege, and that the quartering of troops on the inhabitants in time of *peace*, was illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of British subjects.

A standing army was now stationed in the capital of Massachusetts, for the avowed object of coercing the inhabitants into submission; their commerce fettered, their characters traduced, the assembly prevented from meeting, and the petitions of all classes to have the assembly convened, treated with contempt by an insolent governor, who threatened to augment the troops, and enforce at all hazards, his arbitrary and tyrannical measures; it cannot be surprising that the fears and exasperations of the people exceeded what had ever been witnessed before. At this alarming conjuncture, something must be done, and there was no other alternative but submission or resistance, as petitions had been treated with such contempt, that to memorialize any branch of the British government would be equivalent to submission; and there were but two ways of resistance, either an appeal to the sword, or an entire suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, which, as was said by Mr. Pitt in his speech, furnished the means whereby Britain had carried on the war with France, and which if continued, would afford the means of their own oppression. As all the colonies were involved in one common danger, they readily entered into the most solemn engagements, that no British or

India goods should be imported, except a few specified articles of necessary use. The effects of these arrangements were soon felt in England, and produced clamors, and even tumults in some parts of the kingdom. But the partisans of the crown in America, endeavoured by their correspondence, to induce the ministry to persevere in their oppressive measures, and represented in the strongest terms, that the interruption of commerce was only an effort of desperation, which could not last long. They advised the ministry, to purchase large quantities of goods, designed for the American market, and also to allow the merchants engaged in the American trade, a premium equal to the profits of their stock in business. "If these measures are adopted," said Mr. Oliver, secretary in Massachusetts, in one of his letters, "*the game will soon be up with my countrymen.*"

The assembly which convened at Boston in May, set several weeks without doing any business, as they refused to act as long as an armed force was quartered in the town, and surrounded the house where they were in session; they were finally adjourned to Cambridge. They sent several messages to the governor to have the troops removed, but after evading the matter for some time, he declared that he had no authority over the king's troops; thus admitting that the military was above the civil power in the province. Governor Bernard sent a provoking message, stating the expenditures of quartering the troops on the town, and requesting that provision be made for the payment of the same, and also for their future support; the assembly were thus called on to maintain the instruments by which they were to be oppressed and enslaved. But instead of complying with this request, they passed several spirited resolutions, censuring the conduct of the governor and General Gage, for their rash and oppressive measures, their wanton violations of the constitution, the introduction of a standing army in time of peace, and their encroachments on the liberties of the citizens and of the province. The governor had received an order to repair to England, and lay before the king the state of the colony; which he communicated to the assembly, with a request that his salary might be continued during his absence, as his office would remain. But the assembly informed him in decided terms, that they could not comply with either of his requests. On receiving this answer, he immediately, after a short, angry, and threatening speech, prorogued the legislature. He soon after set sail for Europe, then little thinking that he should never return to a country that by his violent temper and arbitrary conduct, he had brought to the brink of civil war. His reception at court convinced the Americans of the truth of what they feared, that the governor had

been sent for, as a mischievous emissary, rather than for an impartial inquiry into the real situation of the province, or an investigation of his own conduct.

Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, was appointed to succeed Governor Bernard. Hutchinson was a native of Boston, and had run a career of popularity; whilst, however, he was courting the people at home, he was not less assiduous in ingratiating himself into the favor of the British government, by misrepresenting his countrymen. He was artful and plausible, and possessed of popular talents; but was insidious, dark, intriguing and ambitious; and the extreme of avarice marked every feature of his character. His appointment was announced at the close of the year 1769. He immediately assumed a more haughty tone, and aimed at more high handed measures than his predecessor, and commenced his administration by informing the assembly that he was *independent* of them and the people, as his majesty had made provision for his salary. Secure of the favor of his sovereign, he treated the people and the assembly with contempt, and answered their repeated solicitations to remove the troops from the capital, by withdrawing the garrison from a strong fortress in the harbour of Boston, who were in the pay of the province, and replacing them by two regiments of the king's troops. The ebullitions of popular feeling, were so high as to occasion great alarm with the leading patriots, that it would break out into acts of violence, which might injure the cause of the people. The miserable minions of power in America, endeavored to promote this result, and openly avowed, "that the only method to restore tranquillity, was to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writing had instilled the poison of sedition into the people." James Otis, the most active, bold, and influential patriot of the day, having published under his proper signature, some severe strictures on the conduct of the officers of the crown, was assaulted in a public room, by a band of hired ruffians, with swords and bludgeons; and being covered with wounds, was left for dead. The assassins made their escape, and took refuge on board the king's ships in the harbor. Mr. Otis survived, but the lamp of his understanding which had glowed with such effulgence, was overcast with clouds and darkness. Mr. John Adams says that he "laid the foundation of the American revolution, with an energy, and with those masterly talents which no other man possessed;" and he is justly considered as the first martyr to American liberty.

The insults which the inhabitants constantly experienced, from the soldiers, increased their animosity towards them to such a degree, as to lead to violence and blood-shed. On the second of March, 1770, an affray took place between a party

of soldiers of the 29th regiment, and some rope-makers, in front of Mr. Gray's rope-walk. This was followed by a more alarming outrage on the 5th: the indignant populace pressed upon and insulted the soldiers, while under arms, and assailed them with clubs, sticks and snow-balls, covering stones. Being dared to fire by the mob, six of the soldiers discharged their muskets, which killed three of the citizens, and wounded five others. The effect of this was electric; the town was instantly in commotion, and the mass of the people were so exasperated, that it required the utmost exertions to prevent their rallying and driving the British myrmidons out of town; and nothing but an assurance that the troops should be withdrawn, prevented this resort to force. The captain of the party and eight men were brought to trial; two of the men were found guilty; the captain and the other men were acquitted. A general meeting of the inhabitants was immediately assembled in Faneuil Hall, who unanimously resolved that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside in the capital; and a committee was appointed to wait on the governor, and request the immediate removal of the troops. The governor refused to act, under pretence of want of authority; but Colonel Dalrymple, alarmed at the state of things, proposed to withdraw the 29th regiment, which was more culpable than any other; but he was informed that not a soldier should be left in town; he was reluctantly compelled to comply, and within four days not a *Red-coat* remained. This tragical affair produced the deepest impressions on the minds of the people; and the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, was commemorated for many years, and orations delivered, which unfolded the blessings of civil liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of standing armies, and the rights of the colonies. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame, and in no small degree promoted the cause of the colonies, in a manner that served to give a deeper glow to the flame of liberty. In the spring of 1773, the schooner Gaspee was stationed at Providence, to prevent smuggling; and the conduct of the commander having exasperated the inhabitants, two hundred men entered on board the schooner at night, and compelled the captain and crew to go ashore, and then set fire to the vessel. The government offered a reward of five hundred pounds, for the apprehension of any of the persons engaged in this outrage; but such was the spirit and unanimity of the people, that this pecuniary inducement produced no effect, and the authors of the outrage could not be discovered. About this period, the letters of Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, to their friends in England, urging the government to

adopt more decisive and vigorous measures, to coerce the colonies into submission, were discovered and sent back to America by Dr. Franklin, which, being published by the assembly of Massachusetts, greatly contributed to inflame the public mind, and exasperate the people against these officers of the crown, who were justly charged with having shamefully betrayed their trust, and the people, whose rights it was their duty vigilantly to guard. Whilst the other duties were repealed, that on tea was retained, for the sole and avowed object of maintaining the power, which parliament had asserted, of collecting a revenue in America. The ministerial scheme was cunning and artful; but did not, in the least degree, deceive the vigilance of the Americans. The object was to *cheat* the colonies out of their rights, by collecting an indirect, imperceptible duty, little more than *nominal* in amount, which, however, if acquiesced in, would have been an admission of the *principle* or right of Britain to raise a revenue in America. It was an attempt to obtain, covertly and by *fraud*, what they had attempted, but failed to obtain, openly by *force*. In the first place, measures were adopted, openly and explicitly, for taxing the colonies, the duties to be paid directly by the consumer; but being unable to enforce this act, it was repealed, accompanied with a declaration of the *right* of parliament to tax the Americans, in all cases whatsoever. This naked assertion of a right, when the application of it had been attempted and abandoned, did not give the Americans much concern: they would not have cared, if the British had kept that assertion of a *right* to do wrong on their statute-book, as long as the two countries existed, provided they had not attempted to exercise their assumed right. But the advocates of American taxation seemed to be sensible, that the bare assertion of a right, after an unsuccessful attempt to enforce it, would amount to but little, and that conclusions, obviously following the abandonment of the first attempt to tax the Americans, would be left in their full force. Under the circumstances in which the two countries were placed, therefore, the right must be enforced, or it must be considered as virtually abandoned. But this had been once attempted, without success; a more ingenious mode, therefore, must be devised, or one less likely to give alarm to the colonies. The stamp duties were a *direct* tax, as the duty constituted the entire value of the sum paid; but a trifling impost would not be perceived, as the duty would scarcely make any sensible difference in the price of the article. The bitter pill, which it was intended to make the colonies swallow, was gilded with sugar. The duty was more artfully disguised, than a simple impost. It was, in fact, no additional burden on the consumers of tea, it being only a different *mode* of collect-

ing the duty which had before been paid; yet this alteration of the mode involved the right and power of parliament to establish a revenue system in America. According to the former regulations, the teas of the India Company were first brought to England, where a duty was paid before they were sent to the colonies. The scheme was merely to change the place and mode of collecting the duty; it was to be paid in America, instead of England; for which purpose custom regulations were established, and officers appointed. A duty of three pence on a pound of tea, would not be felt by the people, and this, or rather a greater duty, had been paid before in England; so that, instead of the burdens of the people being increased, they were rather lightened by this new regulation. So artfully disguised was this scheme. It is a maxim with many politicians, and too generally correct, that the people will not be alarmed or excited by any principle, however it may be fraught with danger; that they must *feel* and *suffer*, before their fears will arouse them into action. But this maxim did not hold true with the Americans; they saw the danger, and resolved to resist, at the hazard of their lives, a *principle*, calculated to undermine the foundation of their liberty; although its operation at the time was not *felt*, in the slightest degree. The resistance of the Americans to the scheme of collecting a duty on tea in America, instead of England, was the resistance of the *principle* which that scheme involved, solely: as no additional burden was thereby imposed on the people.

It is believed that this is the only instance in history, of an entire people being roused to resistance, from measures which were not burdensome or oppressive in their immediate operations, and dangerous only from a principle on which they were founded. This consideration affords the highest evidence of the intelligence of the Americans, as well as of their extreme jealousy and vigilance, in guarding their rights. That the experienced politician should forsee the ultimate design and tendency of measures, not immediately oppressive, is natural enough; but that the common people, or rather the entire population of a country should be aroused to resistance, on account of measures not burdensome or oppressive, but dangerous only from the principle on which they were founded, is unparalleled. It is not, however, to be supposed that the colonists would have been so alarmed and aroused to such a spirit of resistance, by the new regulations as to tea, had it not been for the previous measures of the parent country, evincing, in the clearest manner, a settled design to exercise the power of taxation over them. They considered the new regulations as to tea, as an artful and disguised revenue system, although it imposed no additional duty, and they were determined not to be *cheated* out

of their liberties, as they had before resolved not to be frightened out of them.

Measures were immediately adopted to prevent the introduction of the tea into the country, so as to avoid the payment of the duty; and such was the strength and unanimity of public opinion, that without the aid of law, or rather in opposition to law, they were enabled to render their measures efficient, solely by the force of public sentiment, although measures of all others the most difficult to enforce, as interfering both with the interests and the established habits of the people. In most of the towns from New-Hampshire to Georgia, the people assembled and resolved to discontinue the use of tea, which was now regarded as an herb, (however agreeable as a beverage) *noxious* to the political constitution. In the large commercial towns, regulations were adopted to prevent the landing of tea; committees were appointed to inspect merchant's books, propose tests, and make use of other means to defeat the designs of Britain. Where it could be done, the consignees of the teas, were persuaded or compelled to resign, or to bind themselves not to act in that capacity. The cargo sent to South-Carolina, was stored, the consignees being constrained to enter into an engagement not to offer any for sale; and in many of the colonies, the ships were compelled to return without discharging their cargoes. So vigorously were these measure enforced, that during one year, eighty-five pounds was the whole amount of duties received. The teas consumed in the colonies, were principally smuggled into the country, by the Dutch and French, who were favored by the inhabitants in evading the revenue laws. During the four or five years that the new system had been in existence, very trifling quantities of teas had been introduced into the colonies, and instead of the restrictive measures being relaxed as was expected in England, they increased in vigor and efficacy, and the quantity of tea introduced had constantly diminished.

As had been the case with other matters, of difference between the two countries, the principal struggle, growing out of the regulations as to tea, occurred at Boston. The other provinces had avoided the alternative which was reserved for this, of either suffering the teas to be disposed of, or to destroy them, by violent means. Knowing the spirit of the inhabitants of Boston, the India Company had been more cautious as to the cargoes shipped for that port, than those sent to the other provinces; and the zeal of Governor Hutchinson, and the other officers of the crown there, greatly surpassed that of the crown officers in the other colonies, and was calculated to frustrate the measures of the inhabitants. The tea ships destined to Boston, were all consigned to the sons, cousins, and persons

who were the merest tools of Governor Hutchinson. When called on to resign, the only answer they would give was, "that it was not in their power." As the consignees could not be induced or frightened to resign, the next plan was, to compel the vessels to return without landing their detestable cargoes; but the collector refused to give a clearance without the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles, and the governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, until they were properly qualified from the custom house; and to guard against the vessels being taken possession of, and conducted out of the harbor, the governor ordered Admiral Montague, who commanded the naval force, to keep a vigilant look out, and to suffer no vessel, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. The rigorous adherence to these measures, afforded great satisfaction to the governor and his minions, and all the British party; they flattered themselves that the "Sons of Liberty," after all their clamour, resolutions, and schemes to resist the tea system, were outmanaged, and that it would be impossible for them to prevent the landing and sale of the obnoxious cargoes. Their measures had been planned so wisely, and their execution was entrusted to agents of such known fidelity to the crown, and who were under the immediate influence and control of the governor, they thought there was not a loop-hole whereby the rebellious Americans could escape paying the hateful tax. They did not even dream that an attempt would be made to destroy or throw overboard the offensive article, which covered a tribute to Britain; for if they had, the vessels would have been guarded. The governor, after all he had witnessed and experienced, judging rather from his feelings than his knowledge, was entirely ignorant of public sentiment, and of the spirit of the people: he had no idea that they had determined to resist the obnoxious measure, at every hazard, even that of life. Nothing short of this bold step, could prevent the deep laid scheme, against the liberties of the country from succeeding. It had been rendered impossible that the vessels should return with their cargoes; and to suffer the tea to be landed and trust to the spirit and unanimity of the inhabitants not to purchase it, would have been to yield the point; for a small portion of the citizens were in favor of the British, and would of course consume the article, and by fair means or foul, it would have been distributed among others. And it would have been equally impracticable to prevent the tea from being landed; the most unwearied watching day and night, could not prevent this, as it might be conveyed ashore by small quantities in boats in the night season, and at such places as to escape the utmost vigilance. Every other measure had been

attempted without success ; the consignees had been urged to decline the commission, and a numerous public meeting of the citizens had been held, who presented a remonstrance to the governor, and urged him to order back the ships without suffering any part of their cargoes to be landed. But his answer satisfied them that he was the adviser of the measure, and determined to carry it into execution. The parties were at issue on the great question, on which the liberties of the country hung suspended; whether Great Britain should exercise the power of taxing the Americans in any way, or not. This question depended on the landing of a few cargoes of tea, which had become contaminated with an unconstitutional tax. The colonists were determined that they would not pay the tax, and the British party were determined to carry into effect the tea regulation, and to frustrate the plans of the Americans. Both parties had taken their measures, and the British party were confident of success; the contest was advancing to a crisis; alarm and dismay prevailed; the deepest anxiety was depicted in every countenance; had an invading army been in the neighbourhood, threatening to sack the town, or had the pestilence which walks in darkness, ravaged its pavilions, greater gloom could not overspread the town, or stronger indications been exhibited, of a pending event big with the fate of three millions of people. During this deep and awful suspense, a report was started, which spread with the rapidity of lightning through the town, that Admiral Montague was about to seize the ships and dispose of their cargoes, at public auction, within twenty-four hours; which was believed to be a cunning device of Hutchinson, as this would as effectually have secured the duties, as if the teas had been sold at the stores of the consignees. This rumour was like an electric shock ; leaving their employments, the people rushed into the streets, and with amazed and terrified countenances, every one seemed to say, what shall we do to prevent the consummation in so bold and daring a manner, of this iniquitous scheme. In a few moments, as from an instinctive impulse, a vast crowd repaired to one of the most spacious churches in Boston, and organized themselves into a public meeting. Previously to taking any other step, a message was sent to the governor and the consignees, who with difficulty could be found, as they were afraid to encounter even the looks of an indignant and injured people. No satisfactory answers were returned; but instead of complying with their wishes, whilst the assembled multitude were quietly, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed, consulting on their critical situation, and the measures proper to be adopted, the sheriff entered with an order from the governor, styling them an illegal and seditious assembly, and ordering

them immediately to disperse. But he did not bring with him the *posse comitatus*, as the power of the county was already assembled, and it was that, the sheriff was ordered to disperse; this mandate was treated with deserved contempt, and the sheriff hissed out of the house, mortified and chagrined, and a confused murmur followed not only in the house but among the vast multitude from without; but soon order was restored, and the meeting adjourned, without adopting any vote or resolution. The leaders probably supposed that such a meeting was not the place to discuss and devise measures to meet the crisis.

The bold measure was now conceived, and immediately proposed for execution, which surprised and agitated the two countries, and hurried on that memorable revolution which made them "enemies in war, and in peace friends." The success of it, as well as the danger attending it, required secresy and despatch. It has never been known with certainty, either who contrived or executed this bold expedient; but there is no reason to doubt, but that Mr. Samuel Adams, and many of the leaders in the political affairs of the day, were its contrivers, and it is known, that the hall of council was in the back room of Edes & Gill's printing office, at the corner of the alley leading from Court-Street to Brattle-Street Church. It is a singular circumstance, that this daring and desperate measure, for the maintenance of the liberties of the country, should have been counselled and contrived in an editorial closet of a newspaper, which was one of the organs of the public voice, and a vigilant sentinel of the liberties of the people. Since this period many political schemes have originated, in the "back rooms" of printing offices, but in general of a very different character.

In a few hours after the adjournment of the public meeting, the bold measure, on the success of which the great question of taxation hung suspended, was contrived, matured, and ripened for execution; and the public were surprised with the sudden appearance in the streets, of a large number of *savages*, or persons disguised, clad, and every way counterfeiting the aborigines of the country; armed with a tomahawk in one hand, and a club over the shoulder, who, in a silent and solemn manner, not a voice being heard, marched in Indian file, through the streets, amidst a crowd of astonished spectators, who knew not what to think of so unexpected and strange an exhibition; and its novelty and the surprise which it occasioned, may have prevented any steps being taken to oppose their design. The *Indians*, whilst strongly attached to tobacco, in this instance at least, appear to have had a mortal antipathy to *tea*; and as though attracted by its noxious qualities, they proceeded directly towards the wharves where the tea ships lay;

boarded them, demanded the keys, and without the least hesitation or delay, knocked open the chests, and emptied their contents, duties and all, into the ocean, comprising several thousand weight of the finest teas. The deed was done in the face of the world,and although surrounded by the king's ships, no opposition was made or attempted; all was silence and amazement. Thus the teas which were designed as a means of extorting tribute from the Americans, became an offering to the "spirits of the vasty deep," and a sacrifice to the liberties of the country. The "Indians" having effected their object, shewed no marks of triumph; no savage warwhoop was heard; nor did they commit any other violence or disorder, but in the same silent, solemn and orderly manner, marched back through the town, followed by a vast crowd. No movements on the part of the government, or disturbance by the people, followed this event; and it was observed at the time, that the stillest night succeeded, which Boston had enjoyed for several months.

No persons assisted the savages, in the destruction of the tea, except some boys or young men, who had assembled on the occasion, and voluntarily took a part in what was going on; one of these youths, collected the tea which fell into his own shoes and those of several of his companions, put in a phial and sealed it up; which is now in his possession, containing the same obnoxious tea, which in this instance was considered as more dangerous to the political health and constitution of the people, even than strong drink. The number of savages, manufactured for the occasion, has been variously estimated, from sixty to eighty: although several persons have been mentioned as among the number, none of them have ever been known with certainty; there are many and obvious reasons, why secrecy then, and concealment since were neceseary. Not any of those who it has been confidently asserted were of the party have admitted the fact except some of the boys. Nearly all of the disguised persons have left this scene of strife, and their secret has died with them; and what few remain, if any, will probably be as prudent as those who have gone before them, and like them will suffer their knowledge to be buried with them, so that the greatest secret will shortly be beyond the reach of human research. The success of this bold and daring measure, astonished Governor Hutchinson and the British party, and seemed to convince him, that the "Sons of Liberty" were not quite so contemptible as he had represented them in his letters to the ministry; and it even astonished the whigs, in the other colonies, and contributed to fan the flames of liberty, and give them a deeper glow, and more intense heat.

When the intelligence of this event reached England, accompanied with all the exaggeration and colouring which Hutchinson could give to it, it produced the utmost excitement, and indignation with the ministerial party, and even the opponents of the American revenue system, could not justify so rash and desperate a measure. Parliament at once determined to crush the devoted town, which was the seat and cause of this high handed resistance to its supremacy. Its omnipotent power, and all the terrors of its wrath, were to be concentrated and directed against this rebellious town. A bill was immediately introduced to "discontinue the landing and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town of Boston, or within the harbor." This bill, called the "Boston Port Bill," passed on the 25th of March, 1774, and when it was known, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. A general meeting was called, and spirited resolutions adopted, expressive, in strong terms, of their sense of the oppressive measure, and they requested all the colonies to unite in an engagement to discontinue all importations from Great Britain; and most of the colonies resolved to make common cause with Massachusetts, in her opposition to the unconstitutional measures of parliament. The first of June, when the port bill was to go into operation was appointed to be kept as a day of fasting and prayer. This act was soon followed by another, "for the better regulating gov't. in the province of Mass. Bay;" the object of which was to alter the charter, so as to make the judges and sheriffs dependant on the king, and removeable at his pleasure. And this act was soon succeeded by another, which provided, that any persons indicted for murder, or other capital offenee, committed in aiding the magistrates, in enforcing the laws, might be sent by the governor either to any other colony, or to Great Britain for his trial. The Quebec Bill followed in rapid succession, enlarging the bounds of that province, and conferring many privileges on the Roman Catholics; the design of which was to secure the attachment of that province, and prevent its joining with the colonies in their measures of resistance. These measures instead, of intimidating the colonies into submission, only confirmed their fears of the settled designs of Great Britain to deprive them of their chartered rights, and reduce the colonies to the lowest state of political degradation and oppression. A sense of common danger led to an extensive correspondence, which resulted in the opinion that it was expedient to convene a general congress, to consist of deputies from all the colonies. This congress met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774; and comprised among its members, some of the most distinguished patriots, statesmen and orators in the country, or perhaps in any other. Notwithstanding

the ferment which prevailed in most of the colonies, their proceedings were characterised by coolness, unanimity and firmness.

They published a long and solemn declaration of rights, as British subjects, and maintained in the strongest terms, their exemption from taxation by parliament; besides which, they prepared a petition to the king, which was refused to be answered; an address to the *people* of Great Britain, and another to the people of America. These documents were drawn up with a masterly hand, and exhibited great dignity and ability, and were in every respect worthy of the men who had confided to them the liberties of their country, and the destinies of three millions of their countrymen, threatened with slavery.

The proceedings of congress did not tend to allay public feeling, and as the royal agents in Massachusetts seemed determined to push matters to extremities, and reduce the people to unconditional submission, by arbitrary and forcible means, every thing now wore the appearance of civil war. A new council, and new judges were appointed by the crown; and the latter attempted to enter upon the execution of their offices; but the juries refused to be sworn under them; the people in some counties assembled to prevent their proceedings, and in Berkshire succeeded, in thus setting an example, which was afterwards followed by Shays' men, in violation of the laws of the state. About this time the famous "Tree of Liberty," in Boston, which had been pruned and ornamented with so much pride and care, "fell a victim to British vengeance, or to some individual to whom its shade had become offensive."?

Previously to this period, General Gage had succeeded Hutchinson as Governer of Massachusetts; and, apprehending danger from a general muster of the militia, he caused the magazines and ammunition at Charlestown and Cambridge, to be removed to Boston, and fortified the neck of land which joins Boston to the main land, at Roxbury. These measures occasioned a universal panic; delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk met, and spirited resolutions, and a remonstrance to the Governor, were adopted. The general assembly had been summoned to meet at Salem; but from the turbulence of the times, the governor issued his proclamation, countermanding their meeting; yet, in defiance of the governor's mandate, ninety members met, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, chose Mr. Hancock president, and adjourned to Concord, nineteen miles from Boston. They fearlessly proceeded to business; after addressing the governor, and reiterating their grievances; in the face of British law and British troops, they proceeded to adopt the first measures, which were taken, directly and avowedly preparatory to an appeal to

the sword, in defence of their rights and liberties. They regulated the militia, made provision for furnishing the people with arms, and for supplying the treasury; and such was the enthusiasm of the people, that their recommendations had the force of law. Governor Gage was filled with rage at these daring proceedings, and issued a proclamation, in which he insinuated that they amounted to rebellion.

Early in 1775, parliament passed the fishery bills, which prohibited the colonies from trading in fish with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, and from taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland. These acts were intended to operate on the town of Boston, which had become the devoted object of ministerial wrath. The various statutes, which were passed, occasioned deep and general distress in Boston and its vicinty; but their brethern in the other colonies sympathized with them, and promptly supplied them with provisions of every description for the relief of the sufferers.

This policy of the British government was not only oppressive, but mean and contemptible. *Partial* legislation is always odious and tyrannical; yet it consisted with the justice and dignity of the British nation; and a series of acts were passed, and the power of the nation exerted, to crush the town of Boston, because it had shown a more determined spirit of resistance to their oppressive and unconstitutional measures than had appeared in other places. The ministry were not sensible that the colonies considered themselves all engaged in a common cause; they were in hopes to humble and crush the rebellious inhabitants of that devoted town, which they thought would be such a terrific example as would frighten all the colonies into submission. But their wicked designs recoiled on the heads of their authors; for these oppressive measures towards the Bostonians, only served to exasperate the people throughout all the colonies, who regarded them as cruel and detestable.

In March 1775, the public indignation was greatly excited by the following base and most shameful transactions:—

"The people from the country, whose business called them into Boston, were suspected by the officers of purchasing guns from their soldiers. In order to furnish an opportunity to inflict punishment, and to raise occasion for a serious quarrel, Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit, of the forty seventh regiment, ordered a soldier to offer a countryman an old rusty musket. A man from Billerica was caught by this habit, and purchased the gun for three dollars. The unfortunate man was immediately seized by Nesbit and confined in the guard house all night. Early next mroning they stripped him entirely naked, covered him over with warm tar, and then with feathers, placed him on

a cart and conducted him through the streets as far as liberty tree, where the people began to collect in vast numbers, and the military, fearing for their own safety, dismissed the man, and retreated to their barracks. The party consisted of about thirty grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, twenty drums and fifes playing the rogue's march, headed by the redoubtable Nesbit with a drawn sword! What an honorable deed for a British field officer and grenadiers! The selectmen of Billerica remonstrated with General Gage respecting this outrage, but obtained no satisfaction.

The breach between Britain and the colonies had now become so wide, as with the mass of the people, nearly to exclude all ideas of conciliation; and both parties began to make preparations for an appeal to the sword. No alternative was left the Americans but slavery, or resistance by force; measures were adopted for training the militia to the use of arms, to encourage the manufacture of gun powder, and for collecting all kinds of military stores; and committees of public safety were appointed in all the towns in the province. The British government sent out a re-inforcement of troops to Boston, and in the mean time Governor Gage attempted to counteract the designs and measures of the provincials, and particularly to seize or destroy their military stores, and thus deprive them of the means of resistance. To destroy the military stores at Concord, General Gage despatched, in a secret manner, a regiment of grenadiers, who undertook to disperse, and fired upon a party of militia at Lexington, several of whom were killed, which was the *first blood* spilt in that memorable war and revolution, that separated Great Britain and America forever; and gave to the latter, not only a rank among the nations of the earth, but what only can exalt a nation—*Liberty* and *free institutions*, which are the durable foundations of its glory and rising prosperity; its tranquillity and happiness, its increasing population and wealth, the rapidity of which is unexampled in the annals of the world.

Thus, dear reader, I have given you a summary view of the causes which led to the American revolution. I shall commence the revolution by giving you an account of the battle of Lexington.

On the 18th of April, 1775, Lieut. Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn left Boston with 800 chosen men from the British army, for the purpose of destroying the American stores at Concord. On their arrival at Lexington, they found about seventy militia under arms upon the green. Major Pitcairn, seeing the Americans on parade, rode up to them, and exclaimed, disperse, you rebels, throw down your arms, and disperse. His orders not being instantly obeyed, he discharged his own pis-

tol, and ordered his men to fire. His orders were obeyed, and three of the Americans were killed. The detachment proceeded to Concord. The militia of that town had also assembled to oppose them, but their number was so small that they retired and waited for aid from the neighboring towns. The British destroyed all the stores that were to be found, and then began their retreat towards Lexington. But the whole country was in arms, and pressed upon their rear. The Americans kept up a continual fire from behind hedges, stone walls, &c. Major Pitcairn, fearing his carcass would be picked from his horse, dismounted, and led his division on foot; but his horse and equipments were taken by the provincials. At sun-set, the regulars, overcome with fatigue, secured their retreat over Charlestown neck, and found on Bunker's Hill a place of security and repose.

The loss of the British in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, amounted to 273, while the American loss in killed, wounded and missing, was only 88.

The battle of Lexington spread like a conflagration, and aroused the hardy sons of the country to a manful resistance. The agriculturist left his plough in the furrow, and the mechanic dropped his tools in the shop, and the great mass of the people repaired to Boston with such arms as could be found. Within a few days a large army was collected under the command of generals Ward and Putnam. This alarmed general Gage for the safety of his garrison. When the tidings of these events reached the south, the population were aroused to the contest with the same animated zeal which had been displayed at the north, and the tocsin of alarm spread far and wide through the country.

On the 28th of April, 1776, the provincial congress of Massachusetts issued the following general circular:

"We conjure you by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all possible assistance in forming an army, in defence of the country. Our all is at stake. Death and destruction are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious; an hour lost, may deluge your country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity that survive the carnage. We beg and entreat, as you will answer it to your country, to your consciences, and above all, as you will answer it to your God, that you will hasten, by all possible means, the enlistment of men, to form an army; and send them forward to head-quarters, at Cambridge, with that expedition, which the vast importance, and instant urgency of the affairs demands."

This, as might be expected, aroused the energies of the country, and inspired the people with the most heroic feelings. The

call was promptly obeyed, and the sons of liberty enlisted themselves with the greatest alacrity for the defence of their rights.

The responsibilities which now rested on the fathers of the revolution were great, and their services important. They had to imbody and discipline new and inexperienced troops, bring order out of confusion, and to supply both arms and ammunition being without funds, and almost without authority to resist them. Besides this, the army was to be supplied with provisions, in the face of a formidable, well disciplined, and well furnished enemy. But the zeal and ability of the officers were equal to the crisis. Of some it is even recorded, that for a succession of days and nights, they were constantly at the head of their respective guards, without a change of raiment.

At this critical epoch, General Ward directed colonel Ethan Allen to raise four hundred Green Mountain Boys, on the New Hampshire grants, since then composing the state now called Vermont. With this force he was to surprise the garrisons of the English on lake Champlain. The colonel raised two hundred and thirty of the number, with which force he repaired to Castleton, where he met one hundred and seventy two more, by concert with certain officers of the militia. In this plan, Dean, Wooster, and Parsons, with others in Connecticut, co-operated, and sentinels were posted on the different routes to Ticonderoga, to intercept intelligence of the intentions of the Americans.

About this time, Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had arrived to assist in the enterprise, consented to act in concert with colonel Allen, and no unnecessary delay prevented them from moving forward to the object which they determined to accomplish.

Colonel Allen crossed the lake on the 10th of May, with a detachment of only eighty three men, with which he attacked fort Ticonderoga early in the morning. With this small number he rushed into the fort, while the garrison was asleep. Captain Delaplace was ordered to surrender the garrison instantly, as he would save them from immediate destruction. The captain inquired by what authority, to whom colonel Allen replied—"In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the continental Congress." The fort was immediately surrendered, and the soldiers paraded without arms. The prisoners consisted of four officers, forty-four privates, with several women and children, who were sent into Connecticut for security.

The fruits of this victory were—120 iron cannon, 50 swivels, more than three tons of balls, two 10 inch mortars, and a quantity of shells, flints, gun carriages, powder, flour, pork, &c. with two brass cannon, and many other valuables.

With the remainder of the party, Colonel Seth Warner, a native of Connecticut, crossed the lake, and took the fortress of Crown Point by surprise, with more than one hundred pieces of cannon. Colonel Arnold, who had embarked on the lake, in a small schooner, captured an English armed vessel, and returned to Ticonderoga with his prize. Thus was a free communication with Canada secured by the command of the lake.

While the tide of success thus waited on the American arms in the north, general Gage contemplated an attack upon the American troops at Roxbury, under the command of general Thomas. The number of troops at this place, amounted in all, to but seven hundred militia, and they were nearly destitute of both arms and ammunition. What was wanting in force, however, was supplied by stratagem. The Americans were marched round a hill in full view of the enemy, and displayed to such advantage through the day, that the British general was completely hoaxed, and the attack was not made. Reinforcements soon arrived, and the place was saved.

The success which attended the American arms in their frequent skirmishes with the foraging parties of the British, among the small islands which abound in Massachusetts bay, gave them confidence and courage to face the English forces with confidence and success in more important undertakings.

On the 25th of the month, the three British generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived at Boston. They were able and experienced, and to them was committed the task of putting down all opposition, and of bringing the revolted colonists to a state of absolute and unconditional submission, during the first campaign.

Two days after this, the provincials, under Putnam and Warren, defeated a strong force of the enemy on the islands, and destroyed the vessel, armed and stationed for their defence. The same success attended their arms on the 30th, and the British were greatly distressed by a removal of the cattle from the island, and the communication with Boston was now closed.

On the part of the continentals, the sufferings were severe. The small pox had been communicated from Boston, and raged in the army to an alarming degree. Money was exceedingly scarce; and the whole force, including officers and soldiers, did not exceed eight thousand. Under all their discouragements, and in their undisciplined state, nothing could keep them together, but the most ardent zeal for the cause of their common country.

A proclamation was issued by General Gage, on the 12th of June, in the king's name, offering a general amnesty, excluding only John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Those who should

refuse these gracious offers, or correspond with, or aid and assist the refractory, were denounced as rebels, and threatened to be treated as such. Martial law was also declared in the province.

The proclamation was very properly considered as a public declaration of war, and the precursor of hostile operations, and the enemy was watched with the utmost vigilance. Colonel Prescott, with a detachment of one thousand men, was ordered to fortify Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown; but as the operation was in the night, he fortified a place which lay contiguous to it, called Breed's Hill, which was nearer to Boston. The boldness of this movement both perplexed and astonished general Gage, who saw that it jeopardized his own safety in Boston. He determined to dislodge them from this possition without delay; and on the 17th, about noon, he detached a train of artillery, ten companies of grenadiers, and four battalions of infantry, for this purpose. On this occassion, Major general Howe and Brigadier general Pigot commanded. At Charlestown, a re-inforcement added to their members, and the force amounted to three thousand men. This force formed on the beach, and marching in battle array, a terrible cannonade was commenced. The first shock of the battle was firmly sustained by colonel Prescott, aided by colonel Stark of New Hampshire, and captain Norton, of Connecticut. The detachment was soon joined by generals Putnam, Warren, and Pomeroy, who imparted enthusiasm and energy to the conflict. Charlestown was wrapped in flames as the British advanced.

In imitation of the heroes on the plains of Abraham, the fire of the Americans was reserved until the English arrived to within seventy yards. A well directed fire of musketry was then opened, which spread destruction in the ranks of the assailants, and kept them in check. The discharge of the musketry was dreadful, and the enemy fled in disorder. The chagrin and mortification of the officers was extreme, and the men were rallied to another charge. They were again repulsed, cut to pieces, and put to the rout. At this crisis, general Clinton came up, and the troops being once more rallied, renewed the charge, and the carnage became dreadful. The time was a critical one. The powder of the provincials was nearly expended, and the cartridges of the dead were searched, that the fire might be continued, when their wings were outflanked by the enemy, and the trenches were exposed to a raking fire from the British artillery.

A terrible cannonade was now commenced from the British ships and batteries, and the exertions of the enemy were redoubled. The troops were pressed on by the swords and bayonets in the rear, and the points of British bayonets were met

by clubbed muskets, until numbers prevailed, and the Americans were compelled to retire. The retreat was conducted in good order, and the camp at Cambridge was regained, under a well directed fire from ships and batteries, which raked them severely as they crossed over the neck at Charlestown.

Of this battle it may be said, that in all the records of British valour, not one action occurred, in which they were met by a more dauntless courage, or a more obstinate resistance, or in which they obtained a harder victory.

In this battle, the Americans lost 139 killed, 278 wounded, and 36 missing; in all 453. Among the killed, were Gen. Warren, Col. Gardner, Lieut. Col. Parker, and Majors Moore and McClaney, whose loss to the nation was severely felt, and shed a gloom over the country.

The British loss, as reported by General Gage, was 226 killed, nineteen of whom were commissioned officers, and seventy officers wounded. Total loss of the British, 1054.

The result of the American loss in this battle, is said to equal that of Wolfe in the captnre of Quebec, but in the loss of officers, it stands as eighteen to thirteen in killed, and as seventy to sixty-six in wounded. From this some estimate can be made of the comparative resistance in the two conflicts.

On the 10th of May—the day on which Col. Allen demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga in the name of the American Congress, that illustrious body assembled in Philadelphia, and commenced its session. The Hon. Peyton Randolph was re-appointed President, and Charles Thompson, Secretary.

In June, by a special resolve, the Congress interdicted all intercourse with the enemy, and assumed the style of the Twelve United Colonies, under sanction of which, a day of fasting was appointed for the 30th of July following. On the 15th, Gen. Washington, then a member from Virginia, was appointed to the responsible station of Commander in Chief of the American forces. He accepted the trust with great diffidence. In reply to the President, after accepting the appointment, he added—"But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

On presenting this special commission to Gen. Washington, a resolution was unanimously adopted, that "they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes in the cause of American liberty." Immediately after this, was the appointment of four Major Generals, Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam; and eight Brigadier Generals, Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green.

On the 2d of July, fifteen days from the date of his commission, Washington arrived at Head Quarters, in Cambridge, accompanied by General Lee, and several other gentlemen. The sentiment felt and expressed throughout the country was, that "under God, Washington must be the Saviour of his country." What was their presentiment, is now historic record.

General Washington entered on the duties of his new office, under the most discouraging circumstances. He was indeed at the head of 14,000 men, but without discipline, without order, and nearly destitute of military stores, and of most of the conveniences necessary to the well being of an army. New efforts and new energies became necessary, and they were applied with effect.

At this time, general Howe commanded the main body of the British army, which was posted on Bunker's Hill. Another division was securely stationed near Roxbury. The fleet covered the reserve, and Boston.

The main body of the American army was posted at Cambridge, under the guardianship of the commander in chief. The right rested on Roxbury, under General Ward, and the left was securely posted on Prospect Hill, under general Lee. About 3000 men filled the intermediate spaces, under the command of general Putnam and others. The American army, thus posted, held a controlling power, which left the British in a state of siege, or at least of a land blockade.

On the 14th and 22d of June, Congress ordered a battalion of riflemen to be raised in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and such was the spirit of patriotism in these States, that on the 7th of August, they were raised, accoutred and embodied with the army, without drawing on the public treasury for a single cent.

At this time the wants of the army were truly embarrassing, and exposed the Americans to great danger, in the event of an attack, which was anticipated. Among the most important, were the want of ammunition and bayonets. Camp equipage and engineers were in great request, and the disaffection of officers, occasioned by certain appointments of Con-

gress, were truly distressing. Added to this, that many of the troops were to be disbanded in November, and the longest term of service would close with the year. But the zeal which was the fruit of a righteous cause, prevailed, and they were enabled to conquer their difficulties. Had the enemy known their vulnerable points the result might have been very different.

The British force had lately been augmented by a reinforcement of 8000 men, and the commander in chief of course called a council to settle on a plan of operations for the summer campaign. This council determined on a blockade, as the want of ammunition precluded the idea of an assault on the town. Of the British force it had been well ascertained, that since the 19th of April 2500 of the army had, by various means been lost, and it was thought that before the recruits should arrive in the spring the army would be much weakened.

About this time, an invitation was sent to New York, by general Gage, to enlist as volunteers the foreign seamen who might be there. In October, Falmouth, in Massachusetts, was burnt by order of the English government, which directed that the towns on the sea coast should be laid waste for the sin of rebellion. But the step was as impolitic as it was inhuman. The flames of Falmouth, like those of Charlestown, roused the spirit of the colonies afresh, and called forth more union and greater exertions. Frigates and privateers were fitted for sea and commissioned against the commerce of the enemy, and two battalions of marines were raised for that service. Cruisers were sent out to intercept supplies for the British—a spirit of adventure was raised, and success attended them. Capt. Manley, of the privateer Lee, took a rich store ship laden with supplies for the army in Boston, which encouraged the Americans, in proportion as it disheartened and distressed the enemy, for whose use the supplies were much needed.

On hearing tidings of the battle at Lexington, the spirit of South Carolina awakened to the situation of the nation. Her provincial Congress was convened, and the following covenant was passed by an unanimous resolution.

"Thoroughly convinced, that under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force: We do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor, and associate as a band of brothers, in defence of our injured country, against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging, that whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her defence and safety. This covenant to continue in force, until a reconcilia-

tion shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles; an event which we most heartily desire. And we will hold those persons criminal to the liberty of these colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe to this association."

The result of this resolution was such as might be expected. Two regiments of infantry, and one of rangers was raised for common defence, and the language of the day was in unison with that of the other colonies, nearer the seat of danger. Having organized their affairs with a view to the situation of the country, they adjourned. But we must here remark, that South Carolina was not alone in the spirit of resistance. The king's governors were removed from office in the neighbouring colonies, and the people assumed the responsibility of self government. Committees of safety were appointed, and means taken to attend to their own business in their own way.

The efforts of the colonies generally, were directed to the supplies wanted by the army near Boston. Powder was purchased in foreign ports, some was obtained from Bermuda, and about three and a half tons was received by General Washington from the British forts on the coast of Africa. The colonies also, set about the manufacture of this article.

Intelligence was received at head quarters, that the Canadians had received the addresses from Congress in a favourable manner, and that they would not act against the colonies. An expedition was set out for Quebec on the 19th of September, consisting of one thousand men, under Col. Arnold, by way of Kennebec. He arrived at his place of destination on the 9th of November, after traversing a pathless wilderness, and encountering the greatest hardships and privations. About the same time, general Montgomery entered Canada by way of Lake Champlain, in company with general Schuyler. He laid siege to St. John's on the 8th of October. Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, with eight hundred men, went to the relief of the place, but the green mountain boys, under colonel Warner, defeated him. Chamblee was surprised and taken, with six tons of powder, by Brown and Livingston, which was used to reduce St. Johns, which surrendered on the 2d of November and the garrison was made prisoners. During the siege, col. Allen invested Montreal, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to England in irons, to be tried for treason.

General Montgomery entered Montreal in triumph, on the 12th of November, and but five days afterwards, eleven sail of vessels, general Prescott, several other officers, and one hundred and twenty privates, a large supply of flour, beef, butter, &c. cannon, small arms, and military stores, were taken. All

of these were useful in the prosecution of the war. In the night Governor Carleton escaped in a canoe, with muffled paddles, and shaped his course for Quebec, where he arrived in safety.

On the first of December, general Montgomery formed a junction with colonel Arnold, before Quebec, and operations to carry it by storm were commenced on the fifth. The garrison of this second Gibraltar consisted of fifteen hundred men, under command of the governor. Trenches were opened in the depth of a Canadian winter, and the siege was commenced. A council of war was now called, which acceded to the views of the general, and were nearly unanimous in resolving to take the city by assault. Arrangements were made, and on the morning of the 31st, the signal was given for the attack, by a discharge of rockets. The soldiers advanced with firmness, but the rockets had given warning, and the garrison was prepared to receive it. The first division commanded by general Montgomery, attempted to enter the lower town by the margin of the river. The first battery was carried, and the guard dispersed. The discharge of a single gun from the abandoned battery, killed general Montgomery, captains Macpherson and Cheesman, with several others, and the troops being appalled, retired, and the enterprise was abandoned. The second division was commanded by colonel Arnold, who entered the lower town, on the opposite side of the city. A solitary field piece, mounted on a sled, commanded by captain Lamb, and guarded by a company of artillery, next entered, and the main body brought up the rear. Colonel Arnold was wounded by a musket ball in the leg, at the head of the brave band, while forcing the first barrier. The bone was fractured, and he retired from the combat. Colonel Morgan now took the command, carried the first barrier by storm, and assaulted the second with a prospect of success, not knowing the fate of general Montgomery.

Majors Bigelow and Meigs now came up with about two hundred men. The second barrier was charged, amidst a shower of musquetry, and the barrier was mounted. But to their astonishment, a forest of bristly bayonets forbade their entrancing. On the advance, death was certain, and the danger of a retreat was great. They retired into adjacent buildings, and defended themselves until overpowered by numbers, when they were compelled to surrender. The general was killed, about four hundred men killed and wounded, and, after all their labours and privations, the daring enterprise entirely failed. The loss of General Montgomery was severely felt by the nation, and Congress voted to erect a monument to his memory, which

was accordingly done, and may be seen in St. Paul's Church, New-York.

CHAPTER VII.

Revolution continued.

In October, 1775, Gen. Gage was succeeded by General Howe, in command of the British troops at Boston, which had been blockaded through the winter by the army under Washington. Congress being desirous to support the views of the commander-in-chief, resolved, "That if General Washington and his council of war shall be of opinion that a successful attack may be made upon the troops in Boston, he should make it in any manner he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it might be destroyed.

In the reply of the general, he thus speaks:—"It is not in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together, without ammunition, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more than probably ever was attempted; but if we succeed in the latter as we have done in the former I shall think it one of the most fortunate events of my whole life."

That we may be able to judge of the means at this time possessed by Washington, for offensive operations, it is merely necessary to observe, that his whole force consisted of less than nine thousand men, two thousand of whom were utterly destitute of arms. The general pressed Congress to raise a regular army for a stipulated time as a safe project on which the country might securely rely. The propriety of this step was seen by Congress, and on the first of March the army numbered fourteen thousand, and was soon reinforced by six thousand of the militia, amounting in all to twenty thousand. His operations now commenced in good earnest. The detachment at Roxbury was ordered to take possession of Dorchester Heights, while the commander in chief was to cover this motion by a bombardment of the town. On the night of the fourth of March, this was accomplished, and works thrown up which would secure them from the guns of the enemy.

The light of day opened the eyes of the commanding general to the danger of his situation. One of two things must be done, and that immediately. Either the American troops must

be disloged, or Boston must be evacuated. The English Admiral saw that the fleet was at the mercy of the provincials, and the General determined to attempt a dislodgement. Three thousand men were detached for the service, and Lord Percy, who was to command the expedition, actually embarked for the execution of the project. He was however, providentially prevented from the attempt, by the roughness of weather. In expectation of this, however, Washington. had made preparations to attack Boston, the moment the British General should commence a hostile step in this quarter.

Gen. Howe, finding himself very unpleasantly situated, sent a flag of truce to the American head quarters, notifying general Washington of his intention to evacuate Boston, but threatened to destroy the town, in case he should be molested. On the 16th, at night, the British troops embarked, and the next day sailed for Nantasket Roads, and, in a few days, the whole fleet set sail for Halifax. Immediately after the evacuation of the English army, Washington entered the town, and spread joy through the colonies.

The joy of the inhabitants was excessive, and the general was received with every demonstration of gratitude. They were now relieved from the abuses of an insolent soldiery, and from the distresses occasioned by hunger. A resolution was passed in congress, expressing the thanks of the nation, and a gold medal was ordered to be struck with an appropriate device, commemorating the event, which should be presented to the commander in chief.

In the mean time, the royal governors at the south were not idle. Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, endeavoured to counterwork the revolution. But he was compelled by the patriots of that state, to relinquish the attempt, and to go on board the fleet for safety. Chagrined at his defeat, he determined to avenge the affront, and on the night of the first of January, 1776, he caused fire to be set at Norfolk, which was destroyed. These depredations were continued until they disgusted the most loyal of his party, when he departed with his booty of about one thousand negroes, when he departed for Florida and the Bermudas. In North Carolina, the governor attempted the same play, but his plot was defeated, and the insurrection was suppressed by the patriotism and intelligence of the people.

About the middle of February, the American navy, under commodore Hopkins, set sail from cape Henlopen, and soon surprised and dismantled a fort in New Providence, taking off forty pieces of iron ordnance, and fifteen brass mortars. The governor, lieutenant governor and one counsellor fell into the power of the commodore. In the fore part of March, the fleet captured a British schooner, and the next day, took a bomb brig,

laden with arms and military stores. On the day preceding, the fleet engaged a sloop of war, carrying 20 guns, but night separated them, and the next day the sloop escaped into Newport.

When the intelligence of the two first battles between the British and the colonists reached Great Britain, with the information that general Washington was appointed commander in chief, the impressions on the people and the government were very serious. The king and the ministry however, determined to carry on the war. On the 26th of October, the parliament was convened, and the speech of the king evidently supported the unnatural controversy. In both houses, the opposition was strong, but the ministry prevailed, and the supplies were granted. Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis sailed from Portsmouth in December, for Ireland, with the ships Acteon and Thunderbomb, as a convoy for the transports, with four thousand troops, intended for service in the colonies. In this fleet, came colonel Allen, who had been confined in Pendinnis castle, Cornwall, and treated with much severity. A subscription was opened for him and his companions in Ireland, which was the first humane attention which he had received since his imprisonment.

About this time, the bargain with the king of England, for 17,000 men to be employed in this war, by the prince of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and other German princes, was sanctioned in parliament, by a vote of 242 to 88. In the spring of 1776, two divisions of these mercenaries sailed to America. The estimate for the service against the liberties of America, amounted to 60,000 men.

The Cork fleet, under the convoy of Admiral Parker, arrived in cape Fear river, on the 3d of May, where they were joined by General Clinton, from the northern army. On the 5th, the offer of pardon, on certain conditions, was published by the general, but finding his efforts to stem the tide of popular feeling, of little avail, the fleet sailed for Charleston, S. C. and anchored off Sullivan's Island, about the first of June. The siege of Charleston was opened by the offer of pardon, as in North Carolina, and with equal effect. The day of proclamations and smooth words had come too late. Governor Rutledge had prepared for a vigorous defence, and the militia cheerfully rallied around the flag of their country. At this critical moment, general Lee appeared at the head of some northern regiments, and took the command of Charleston. The enemy crossed the bar on the 26th of June, with a number of ships and frigates, and operations were commenced with little delay. The fire from the American fort and batteries, however, was too galling, and the squadron was compelled to withdraw, after the loss of

one fifty gun ship, and a damage to others, which rendered them for the present useless. One may form an estimate of the contest, by learning the fact, that 7000 loose balls were picked up on Sullivan's Island, after the battle.

The garrison in the fort consisted of about three hundred and seventy-five regulars, and a few militia, commanded by colonel Moultrie. The fortification mounted but twenty six, nine, and eighteen pounders. The British force was three thousand men on board two ships of fifty guns each, four frigates of twenty-eight guns each, and some smaller vessels.

This severe repulse obtained a respite from the calamities of war, for more than two years in the southern states.

Of those who deserve an honourable notice in this action, sergeant Jasper must not be forgotten. During the heat of the engagement, the flag-staff was shot away, and fell into the ditch. The inhabitants of Charleston considered this as a token of submission. When the intrepid sergeant discovered it, he jumped into the ditch, seized the flag, secured it to a sponge-staff, and erected it again in the heat of the action. For this act of bravery, the governor the next day, presented him a sword.

The result of this battle led to the declaration of independence. It had blown the spark of liberty into a steady flame, and prepared the minds of the people for an event to which many looked with the deepest solicitude. The spirit which lived in congress, was united by instructions from the colonies, and the country now seemed ripe for entire separation from the mother country. A resolution was moved in congress by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams, in the following words, which passed unanimously.

Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; and that all political connexion between them and Great Britain is, and ought to be dissolved."

In defence of this motion, Mr. Lee addressed the house in a very animated strain, which he closed in the following language; "Why then do we longer delay, why still deliberate? Let this happy day give birth to the American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of the laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum, where the unhappy may find soloce, and the persecuted repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprang up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under

its salubrious and interminable shade, all the unfortunate of the human race.

"This is the end presaged by so many omens, by our first victories, by the present ardour and union, by the flight of Howe, and the pestilence which broke out amongst Dunmore's people, by the very winds which baffled the enemy's fleets and transports, and that terrible tempest which ingulphed seven hundred vessels upon the coast of Newfoundland. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to our country, the names of the American legislators will be placed, by posterity, at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and will be forever dear to virtuous men, and good citizens."

The members of congress from Pennsylvania and Maryland were not present, and the deliberations on the subject were postponed to the first of July. On that day the discussion was renewed, and on the *Fourth of July*, 1776, the report of the special committee was adopted, dissolving the allegiance of the colonies to the British crown, and declaring them *Free and Independent*, under the style of the *Thirteen United States of America*. The committee who drafted this instrument, consisted of Messrs. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger sherman, and Philip Livingston.

This declaration was signed by all the members of congress, whose names, and the states to which they respectively belonged were as follows.

John Hancock, *President*, from Massachusetts.

New Hampshire.
Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Mathew Thornton.

Massachusetts.
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode-Island.
Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery,

Connecticut.
Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

Delaware.
Cesar Rodney,
George Read.

Maryland.
Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia.
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jun.
Thomas Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

New-York.
William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.
Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

Pensylvania.
Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

North Carolina.
William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

South Carolina.
Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Hayward, Jun.
Thomas Lynch, Jun.
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.
Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

This declaration was received by the people with transports of joy. Public rejoicings took place in various parts of the Union. In New York, the statue of George III. was taken down, and the lead, of which it was composed, was converted into musket balls. In Boston, the garrison was drawn up in King's street, which from that moment, took the name of *State street*, and thirteen salutes, by thirteen detachments, into which the troops were formed, were fired; the bells of the town were rung, in token of felicitation, and the evening concluded with the tearing in pieces, and burning, the ensigns of royalty—lions, sceptres, and crowns.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

PREAMBLE.

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands that have united them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal stations, to which the laws of nature and of nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to a separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, go-

vernments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

"Prudence indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism; it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is the necessity now that constrains them to alter their former systems of government."

Having already recapitulated the causes which principally led to the separation of the colonies from Great Britain, they need not here be repeated. We shall therefore proceed to that part of the instrument which exhibits the course taken by the colonies, in consequence of British aggressions, and their determination, at all hazards, to dissolve the ties which bound them to the mother country.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble manner. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.—We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice, and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states;

that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, that independent states may do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors."

The effects produced on the people of the United States by this declaration, were uniformly those of joy and exultation. The flame which had been smothered during ten years of sufferings, now burst forth in acts and expressions which could not be misunderstood. In various parts of the union, public rejoicings were the result. In New York the equestrian statue of George III, in Bowling Green, was hauled down and converted into bullets. The garrison at Boston was paraded in King's street, which was thenceforward named State street. Thirteen detachments fired as many salutes, and the bells rung in merry peals, felicitating the citizens on the joyous intelligence. To conclude the evening, the ensigns of royalty were either torn to pieces or consumed. But in no place was the excitement greater than in Virginia. The convention was then in session, and decreed, among other things, that "the name of the king should be suppressed in all public prayers." The great seal of the commonwealth was altered. The tutelary genius of the province was represented by Virtue, "robed in the drapery of an Amazon, resting one hand upon her lance," while the other grasped a sword. She was represented as trampling on tyranny, characterised by a prostrate man, from whose head a crown had fallen, carrying "in one hand a broken chain, and in the other a scourge." *Virginia* was at the foot, and round the figure of Virtue—"*sic semper tyrannis.*" On the reverse was a group of figures, in the midst of which stood Liberty, with her wand and cap; on one side was Ceres, with a horn of plenty in the right hand, and a sheaf of wheat in the left. On the other side appeared Eternity, with the Globe and the Phœnix.—At the foot are these words:—*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

The Americans now made a permanent stand; they had gone too far to recede; and the Tree of Liberty could thrive only, when nurtured by the blood of the country. The blow had now been struck, which could not be recalled, and it was aimed at British power and influence in America, and the blow was fatal.

CHAPTER VIII.

Revolution Continued.—Capture of New York.

On the evacuation of Boston by general Howe, Washington suspected that the possession of New York would be a favourite object. To prevent this, if possible, he determined to make that city his head quarters, and thus to prevent its occupation by the British general. He accordingly soon removed to that city, with the principal part of his army.

On the 28th of June, general Howe arrived at Sandy Hook, near New York, with his armament from Halifax, where he was joined by his brother, lord Howe, on the 12th of July, with another armament. By the latter arrival, the two brothers were clothed with powers to treat with the United States, collectively or separately. A flag was despatched to Amboy, to announce his commission. This circular was communicated to Congress by general Washington.

The American army at New York, amounted to little more than seventeen thousand men, a part of which force was encamped at Brooklyn, on Long Island. The combined forces of the British amounted to twenty four thousand, which were landed near the Narrows, nine miles from the city, on the 2d, of August. On the 27th, the British forces, under Sir Henry Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, attacked the American camp at Long Island, which was defended by brigadier general Sullivan, who was defeated, with the loss of more than a thousand men, while the loss of the British was less than four hundred. Brigadier generals lord Stirling and Woodhull fell into the hands of the English. General Washington perceived with anguish, what would be the result of the battle, but he dare not draw off more troops from the city, as he would not even by that measure, be able to cope with the British. On both sides this battle was expected. On the 22d, the British effected a landing, at Utrecht, near the Narrows, under cover of the ships, and every preparation was made to meet them manfully. Colonel Hand was ordered to the high ground, in order to protect the pass leading to Flatbush. Lord Cornwallis was ordered to secure this pass, if it could be done without an engagement. He halted at the village, finding that the pass was secured by the Americans. On this occasion, Washington issued the following orders:

"The enemy have now landed upon Long island, the hour is fast approaching in which the honor and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember,

officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not quit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage has been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders, though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men can do in their own land, and in the best of causes, against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool, be determined. Do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers.

Preparations were now made for a pitched battle. The American camp was strengthened by six additional regiments, and all things put in readiness for an immediate attack. The result of the battle has already been related. It left the American camp in the power of the British, who might easily have taken it by an assault, which was threatened.

On the night of the 28th, the British invested the camp in due form. General Washington spent the next day in camp, and on the night of the 29th, effected a most masterly retreat to New York, under cover of a dense fog. The rear guard only was discovered by the British, and too much advanced to be affected by the shot.

On the 2d of September, two regiments of Americans evacuated Governor's Island, near New York, with their arms and stores, within a quarter of a mile of the British fleet, with the loss of only an arm by one man.

This was indeed an eventful crisis. The fate of America appeared suspended on the issue of a single battle. The reverses experienced wrought upon the feelings of the soldiers. The militia deserted their colours, and abandoned their general. Sickness and desertion reduced the army, and dispirited the officers. Those whose term of service had expired, left the duties of the camp, and returned to their homes, and a gloom was gathering over the just risen hopes of America. Washington passed two days and nights without sleep or rest, principally on horseback, superintending every movement, and watching every event.

On the contrary, the late success elated the British in proportion to the despondency of the Americans. The movements of the British threatened to cut off the retreat of the continentals. General Washington was led to abandon his unsafe position in the city, and after some successful skirmishes retired to White Plains, in West Chester County, about thirty miles from New York. The enemy landed, and took possession of the city, as the Americans retreated. A garrison was left at fort Washington, about ten miles from the city, on the island.

General Howe, being reinforced by a division or two of Germans, marched towards the American army, encamped at White Plains. On the 28th of October, a general skirmish commenced between the advanced parties. On the 29th, the general moved in columns to the support of his van, and to bring on a general engagement. General Washington kept him at bay until the 31st, when he retired to higher ground, and left a strong rear guard to cover White Plains. The British now abandoned the enterprise, and on the 8th of November, drew off his army towards Kingsbridge. On the 15th, he sent a summons to colonel Magraw, commanding Fort Washington, and the next day stormed the fort, *and put the garrison to the sword.*

General Washington beheld the awful scene, and wept with the feelings of a compassionate father. The shock was felt with the keenest sensibility, throughout the American army, and even general Lee wept with indignation, at the news of the merciless butchery, and cursed the unrelenting foe.

On the 18th, lord Cornwallis moved to the attack of Fort Lee; but general Greene drew off the garrison, abandoned the Fort, and joined general Washington. On the 22d, general Washington crossed North river, and retired to Newark, where he found himself almost abandoned by the army; and left to the mercy of a victorious, pursuing enemy, with only about three thousand five hundred men, to accompany him in his flight. On the 28th, general Washington retired to Brunswick, and lord Cornwallis entered Newark, with his victorious army. His lordship pursued to Brunswick, and general Washington retired to Princeton, December 1st. Lord Cornwallis halted one whole week at Brunwick, agreeable to orders; and in the mean time, general Washington saw himself abandoned by the Jersey and Maryland brigades of militia, whose terms of service then expired.

On the 7th, his lordship pursued to Princeton, and general Washington retired to Trenton. The next day his lordship entered Trenton, just at the critical moment that general Washington, with his remnant of an army, had crossed the Delaware,* and secured the boats to prevent his passing †—December 8th, 1776.

General Howe had joined lord Cornwallis at Newark, and now made a stand at Princeton, and issued the proclamation of

* General Washington could muster only two thousand two hundred men at this time.

† The same day general Prescott, with a strong British force, took possession of Newport, (Rhode-Island.)

the king's commissioners, proffering pardon and peace to all such as should submit in sixty days.

Such were the distresses of the army and the country, when they saw their liberties about to expire under the pressure of an overwhelming foe, that men of the first distinction, in great numbers, in that part of the country, embraced the overture, and made their submission.

To add to the distresses of this most trying scene, general Lee, who had harrassed the rear of the British army, with about three thousand men, was now surprised in his quarters, and taken by the enemy, December 13. The troops of general Lee, now under the command of general Sullivan, joined general Washington.

During the delay of general Howe at Trenton, general Washington, with the assistance of general Mifflin, collected a body of Pennsylvania militia, and resolved to make a stand, to recover, if possible, the spirits of the army and nation.

On the night of the 25th, general Washington, under cover of a violent snow storm, recrossed the Delaware, commenced an attack upon the British army, and gained a signal victory; took about one thousand prisoners, including an entire regiment of Germans, with their whole encampment, and secured his position at Trenton.

The enemy soon recovered their shock by large reinforcements, and general Washington retired to Princeton, by a circuitous march; triumphed over the enemy again, and pursued them to Brunswick. Lord Cornwallis collected all his forces at Brunswick, and made a stand. General Washington took up his position at Morristown, and watched the motions of the enemy.

During these operations in New Jersey, the British army had thrown up the rein, and given full scope to the brutal passions. This roused the indignation of the people, and rekindled the fire of Lexington, which spread like lightning through the country. New Jersey then exhibited a scene which was considered but the miniature of what the nation would exhibit, should Britain prevail. Husbands saw the fate of their wives; parents of their daughters; and the nation became most seriously alarmed for their safety, and more immediately alive to the interest of the common cause. New Jersey felt the wound she had received, and roused to the combat, to avenge her wrongs upon the brutal foe.

General Washington surprised lord Cornwallis at Elizabethtown, and he retired to Amboy, where he was closely invested through the winter. In June following, general Howe drew off this army to Staten island, and the Jerseys were cleared.

In April, general Howe detached governor Tryon, with the command of a major-general of provincials, at the head of about two thousand men, to destroy the American stores at Danbury. The general executed this commission, and destroyed one thousand eight hundred barrels of beef, two thousand bushels of wheat, eight hundred barrels of flour, one thousand seven hundred tents, one hundred hogsheads of rum, &c. with the loss of about four hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken by the Americans.

But this expedition cost the British a severe loss. Three generals were in the neighbourhood, Wooster, Arnold, and Sullivan. About six hundred militia were collected in great haste, and followed in pursuit about two miles, during a heavy rain. The next morning the troops were divided. Wooster fell in the rear of the enemy, while Arnold was posted at Ridgefield, in their front. Wooster attacked the enemy, and was mortally wounded in the contest; the troops had to retreat. Arnold gave them a severe reception at Ridgefield, and was repulsed, but renewed the attack during the next day. The yeomanry of the country through which they passed towards the Sound constantly annoyed them, and they made a precipitate retreat to their ships, which conveyed them to New York. They lost in killed, wounded, and missing, about one hundred and seventy; while the loss of the Americans did not exceed one hundred. General Wooster lingered until the 2d of May, and expired in his seventieth year. A monument was voted to his memory by congress, and a horse, splendidly caparisoned was presented to Arnold, as a token of respect for his intrepidity and good conduct.

CHAPTER IX.

Evacuation of Canada—Capture of Burgoyne, and fall of Philadelphia.

We must now return to the affairs in the north. General Montgomery fell at Quebec, and the command devolved on colonel Arnold, who had been badly wounded. But he was removed to Montreal, and was preceded by general Thomas. He soon died, and general Sullivan was appointed in his place. The small pox, with other diseases, reduced the number of men to four hundred. The siege was raised, and this handful of men was compelled to retreat for Montreal.

A reinforcement had arrived from England, and the army in Canada was now thirteen thousand strong. With this force governor Carleton, with generals Burgoyne, Frazer, Phillips, and Reidesel, advanced in different divisions, in pursuit of Sullivan. General Frazer took post at Troies Riviers, when the Americans attempted a surprise, but it miscarried, and general Thompson was left in the hands of the English. Carleton pursued with his whole force, but the retreat of Sullivan was secured, and he reached the river Sorel in safety, where he was met by Arnold, from Montreal. The troops, baggage, and cannon were embarked, and they made a stand at Crown Point, on the 15th of June, 1776.

In the fore part of July, general Sullivan left the command of the northern army, and was succeeded by general Gates. The army was diminished more than 5000, and the ravages of the small pox were dreadfully alarming. About three hundred sick were removed to fort George. The exertions of governor Carleton to prepare his fleet to meet the Americans on the lake, were great and unceasing. Early in October, troops were embarked, and operations commenced. A sharp action ensued near Valicour island, and much valour was displayed on both sides. But the Americans were overpowered, dispersed, taken, or destroyed, which enabled the enemy to approach Ticonderoga, on the 11th of October. But this victory was not followed up with spirit. Hostile operations were suspended for the season, and the governor retired into Canada. To the honour of the governor we would here record his humanity to prisoners, who were often dismissed with kindness, and furnished with necessaries to reach their friends in the United States. These traits in his character are worthy of perpetual remembrance and gratitude.

General Gates discharged the militia, and the campaign was closed.

General Burgoyne succeeded to the command after Carleton, in the spring of 1777. Operations were commenced early at the head of ten thousand men, English and German, commanded by generals Phillips, Frazer, Powel, Hamilton, and by the German generals, Reidesel and Spicht. The army was well appointed, and well supplied with every facility to ensure a successful compaign. The troops were in fine health and high spirits. To this powerful armament were attached several tribes of Indians, who were to take the field on conditions of humanity; they were not to scalp the wounded, nor their prisoners; but a bounty was to be given for every prisoner taken and brought in alive. In June the army arrived at Crown Point, and on the 19th, operations were commenced against Ticonderoga.

General Gates was succeeded in his command by general Schuyler, who placed this fortress in good order for defence, and gave the command to general St. Clair. The fort was approached on the right wing of the American army on the 2d of July, and possession taken of Mount Defiance. This lies contiguous to Ticonderoga, and overlooks the fortress. This mount had hitherto been deemed inaccessible, and had remained unoccupied. Cannon were hoisted by tackles, until the force was sufficient to dislodge the garrison. To save the men, the fort was now abandoned, and the American force retired to Hubbardston, and thence to Castleton, where a stand was made, about thirty miles from Ticonderoga.

General Frazer, supported by general Reidesel, commenced a pursuit in the morning, with the light troops of the British and Germans, and overtook the American rear guard under colonel Warner, at Castleton, and commenced an attack on the 7th, which became sharp and bloody. The British were routed at first, with loss; but finding that colonel Warner was not supported by general St. Clair, they rallied to the combat, and with the bayonet, charged and dispersed the American rear with the loss of about three hundred men; and colonel Warner retired with the remainder of his troops to fort Ann.

General Burgoyne, with the main body of the British army, sailed from Ticonderoga, in pursuit of the American fleet; destroyed and dispersed the whole, and landed at Skeensborough, now Whitehall. He there detached lieutenant colonel Hill, with a strong party to dislodge the Americans from fort Ann. The garrison marched out on the morning of the 6th, and commenced an attack upon the detachment, which was sharply supported by both parties, for about two hours, with apparent success on the part of the Americans; but a party of Indians appeared and joined colonel Hill, and the Americans withdrew from the field; abandoned the fortress, and retired to fort Edward, July 12th. The whole force at this time, at fort Edward, did not exceed 5000 men.

The operations of both armies, were now commenced with vigour. In his retreat, the American general destroyed bridges, and obstructed the roads, to impede the pursuit of Burgoyne; but all these difficulties were surmounted, and on the 30th, the British force reached fort Edward, which had been abandoned by Schuyler on the 27th. He retired to Saratoga, and on the first of August, removed to Stillwater, only twenty five miles north of Albany. The nation saw with deep regret, that this remnant of an army was compelled to flee before a victorious enemy, and that those important fortresses were

abandoned. These events greatly depressed the spirits of our countrymen, while the foe exulted in the triumph.

On the 3d of August, colonel St. Ledger was detached by general Burgoyne against fort Stanwix, as a diversion. To relieve the fort, the general was ordered down with eight hundred militia. Near the fort he fell into an Indian ambush, and was killed in a most severe action. The garrison sallied out, decided the sanguinary contest, drove the Indians, and relieved the fortress. The colonel sent a summons to the fort to surrender, but colonel Gansevoort returned a prompt and spirited reply, and St. Ledger withdrew precipitately, and returned to the lake.

During these movements, general Washington detached general Lincoln to the northward, to take command of such eastern militia as might join the northern army. General Lincoln arrived at Manchester, on the 2d of August, where he took the command of six hundred militia, and on the 6th, he was joined by general Stark, with eight hundred more.

General Stark was a soldier of merit, and had deserved well of his country, by his distinguished services in the famous battle of Bunker's hill; but he had felt himself wounded by the neglect of congress, after the battle, and retired from service. He engaged at this time, in the service of his country, upon the express condition, that he should not be constrained to serve under a continental officer; he accordingly resisted the pressing solicitations of General Schuyler, to join him in checking the progress of general Burgoyne.

Congress interposed in this controversy; and at this eventful moment, general Burgoyne detached colonel Baum, with five hundred Germans, and one hundred Indians, to seize on the American stores at Bennington, to enable him to pursue his march to Albany. General Stark was apprised of this movement, and sent expresses to collect the neighbouring militia, and marched to meet the enemy on the 14th, supported by colonels Warner, Williams and Brush. The advance parties of the two armies, met, and commenced a skirmishing, that continued through the day. On the 15th, all operations were suspended by the excessive rains that fell; but on the 16th, general Stark was joined by the Berkshire militia, under colonel Symonds, and he detached Nichols to take post in the rear of the enemy, on the left; colonel Hendrick to take post in the rear of his right; to be supported by colonels Hubbard and Stickley, still further on the right. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, general Stark commenced an attack upon the enemy, strongly entrenched, and supported by two field pieces. The attack became general, and was valiantly supported on both sides; the Indians fled; the Germans were overpowered;

forced from their entrenchments, and put to flight. The militia, flushed with the successes of the day, abandoned the pursuit, and gave themselves up to plunder. At this eventful moment, lieutenant-colonel Breyman joined colonel Baum with a reinforcement ; they rallied to the charge, and renewed the combat. Colonel Warner led on his regiment of continentals, at this critical moment, and supported the action until the militia could recover their order, and advance to the charge. The action soon became general, and continued through the day. The Germans again gave way, and secured their retreat under cover of the night, leaving their artillery, baggage, &c. with two hundred slain, and seven hundred prisoners, among whom was colonel Baum. This was an important action, and proved ruinous to general Burgoyne.

This action was highly applauded, and a brigadier's commission was made out for colonel Stark, in the continental service. This success gave fresh courage to the Americans, and the public pulse beat high with expectation. General Gates now took command of the army, and the militia joined the army with alacrity. On the rear of the British army was an American force under general Lincoln, and on the 18th general Brown destroyed the British stores at lake George, releasing a number of American prisoners. Successful operations were also commenced against Ticonderoga, and Skeensborough, now Whitehall. General Burgoyne had crossed the Hudson, and finally took post at Still water, but three miles from general Gates.

On the 18th of September, general Gates detached about 3000 men to offer the enemy battle ; but he declined the combat. On the 19th, the scouting parties of the two armies commenced a skirmishing, that led to a general action, which continued through the day, and was supported with great zeal and intrepid bravery. Night closed the scene, and the two generals drew off their armies, to protect their camps, and waited with impatience, the returning day.

In this action the American loss was about three hundred, and that of the English, about five hundred.

The American strength was now about seven thousand, not including about two thousand under general Lincoln, who were then at Bennington. The Indian allies of Great Britain were deserting the standard of general Burgoyne, since the late contest, and four of the six nations favoured the cause of America, and furnished one hundred and fifty warriors. The troops under general Lincoln now added to the force under general Gates, and revived the spirits of the army.

Until the 7th of October, the armies were within common shot, and skirmishes were frequent and severe. The armies

were harrassed and alarmed. The situation of Burgoyne was becoming critical, and he applied to sir Henry Clinton for relief. The latter had just received two thousand men from Europe, and commenced operations by the capture of West Point, a strong fortress on the Hudson. He was then enabled to clear the obstructions on the river, and leave a free passage for his shipping. Of all this general Burgoyne had intelligence, but too late to render him any service.

As general Burgoyne determined on a retreat, he sent forward a strong party on one side, while he headed another, supported by general Frazer, and a contest was commenced immediately, and lasted through the day. Victory perched on the American standard, and they were successful at all points. General Arnold fought desperately, and received a wound in the action. General Frazer* and sir James Clark were mortally wounded, and the latter became a prisoner. General Burgoyne changed his position in the night, and the Americans spoiled the British camp.

The British now expected a momentary attack, and were under arms all the day on the 8th, and at sunset, the last honours were paid to the remains of the much lamented Frazer. On the 9th the English army was so closely invested, that the commander resolved on a retreat to Saratoga. This was effected with no other loss, than that of his hospital of sick and wounded, which he was compelled to abandon to the merey of general Gates, who did honour to his character, in the display of his benevolent feelings, in behalf of the sufferers.

General Burgoyne now perceived that all the passes in his rear were strongly guarded, and that further retreat was next to impossible. In this difficulty, he called a council, on the 13th. While the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound shot crossed the table, and they resolved unanimously, to propose terms with general Gates. The proposals of general Gates were rejected, and general Burgoyne then sent in terms on which the capitulation was finally made.

The news of the capture in the Highlands is said to have arrived at this juncture, which led general Burgoyne to hesitate, in expectation of relief from sir Henry Clinton. General

* In the heat of the action, colonel Morgan, (the future hero of the battle of Cowpens,) selected several of his sharp shooters, and pointing them to a British officer, who appeared most conspicuously active in his duty, at the head of his division, mounted upon an iron grey charger, thus addressed them: "that gallant officer is general Frazer; I admire and respect him; but it is necessary that he should die; take your station in that wood, and do your duty." It is unnecessary to add, that general Frazer soon fell, mortally wounded.

Gates, seizing the critical moment, drew up his army in battle array, and sent in a flag demanding a reply in ten minutes. The responsibility was great, and Burgoyne felt it. The treaty was signed and returned in due time.

The whole British army marched out of their lines, deposited their arms, and became prisoners of war. General Gates marched in, under the tune of Yankee Doodle, and took quiet possession. General Gates ordered supplies to be issued to the British army, who were destitute, and the solemn scene was closed.

Such and so various are the scenes of life, and the fates of men; such and so fickle is the fortune of war; but firm and unshaken is the providence of God; wisdom, and might, and strength are His.

Sir Henry Clinton detached sir James Wallace and general Vaughn, with a flying squadron, carrying 3600 troops, to penetrate, if possible, to the camp of Burgoyne, or make a diversion in his favor; but learning the situation of general Burgoyne, at Esopus, on the 13th, they set fire to the village, and consumed it. Had they proceeded to Albany, they might have destroyed the place, with the American stores, and Burgoyne might have been relieved. The inquiry has often been made, why this unnecessary delay? But no other answer can possibly be given, than this; *it was the special providence of God.*

The army of general Burgoyne was marched directly to Boston, where they were detained as prisoners of war.

Having thus restored tranquillity in the north, the army under general Gates marched to support general Putnam, at Kingston, and guard the country from the incursions of the British. The alarm was taken, and the enemy hastened back to New York.

We will now take a look at the transactions of the conquering army of New York. About the time that victory perched on the British standard on lake Champlain, under the direction of Burgoyne, general Howe embarked with about sixteen thousand troops, with two hundred and sixty sail, and on the 23d of July, went to sea on a private expedition, to make a diversion at the south. General Washington then made a movement towards Delaware, that he might cover Philadelphia. General Howe manœuvred on the coast some days, and finally entered the Chesapeake. Washington advanced to meet him. The British troops were landed at Elk River ferry, and the two armies met at Chad's Ford, on the Brandywine, where an action was fought on the 11th of September. Victory declared for the English, and Washington retired to the high grounds, to watch the enemy. Philadelphia was entered on the 26th, when congress retired to Lancaster.

About this time, the Marquis La Fayette arrived in the United States, and tendered his services to congress, and he received a commission as brigadier general in the service. He joined the army, and served at his own expense, and soon became the companion and the friend of Washington. His talents as a soldier were first displayed at Chad's Ford, where he received a wound in the leg, the effects of which he still carries. The count Pulaski, a Polish gentleman, also distinguished himself in the battle, and was honoured with the commission of major general.

The fleet of lord Howe was now ordered into the Delaware, that his communication with the ocean might remain secure.

While the fleet was thus employed, Washington attempted to cut off the main body of the British army, encamped at Germantown, seven miles from the city. The attack was well concerted, and executed promptly.

The British were completely surprised, at break of day, October 4th; at sunrise the action became warm, and the Americans were successful at all points, until they attempted to dislodge a battalion of the British, who in their flight had thrown themselves into a stone house; this occasioned a delay, broke the pursuit, and gave the enemy time to recover from their surprise, and rally to the charge; the action soon became warm and bloody. A thick fog arose, which covered the combatants, and caused some confusion; the enemy took advantage of this, the Americans retired, and abandoned the victory they had so fairly gained.

The losses of the parties were about equal; but it proved a lesson of caution to general Howe. He collected his army at Philadelphia, where he was closely invested by general Washington, through the winter; which occasioned the remark of Doctor Franklin; "*Philadelphia has taken Howe.*"

The privations of the American army were truly distressing; without clothes, shoes, stockings, & even breeches & blankets; more than two thousand were marched through the snow, imprinting the roads with their blood stained steps; yet all this was endured with a firmness worthy of those valiant sons of liberty.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin had now been more than a year in France, urging the government of that country to acknowledge our independence, and to enter into a treaty of alliance. These objects were effected, after the fall of Burgoyne had manifested the probability that the Americans could maintain their independent stand single handed. A treaty was signed on the 6th of February, by which it was agreed, that "neither of the contracting powers was to make war or peace without the for-

mal consent of the other." The treaty was soon known in London, and the British government determined to evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate the royal forces in New York. On the 18th of June, the royal army crossed the Delaware on the road to New York. But Washington had foreseen this, and prepared the militia of New Jersey to give the British a troublesome march.

He crossed the Delaware in pursuit, and the hostile armies met at Monmouth, on the 28th, sixty four miles from Philadelphia. The contest was severe, and the weather so hot, that numbers of both armies perished from that cause, and the use of water when it could be obtained. The American army remained on the battle ground, intending to renew the contest in the morning, but the enemy made good a retreat. The loss of the Americans, was eight officers and sixty one privates killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded. The British loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was three hundred and fifty eight men, including officers. One hundred prisoners were taken, and the loss by desertion was one thousand. Sir Henry retired by forced marches to Sandy Hook, where he was taken on board the fleet, and embarked the army for New York.

General Lee has been censured by a court martial for disobedience of orders on this occasion. It appears that he first declined a particular command, and then asked for it. Washington directed him to commence the attack, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary," and his disobedience, "and doubtful movements" appear to have marred the expected success, and justified the event in depriving him of his command.

The French government, by the terms of the treaty, had now entered into the war

On the 8th of July, count D' Estaing entered the capes of the Delaware, with the Toulon fleet, after a passage of eighty seven days; lord Howe had been gone only eleven days, and sir Henry Clinton had evacuated Philadelphia only one month before, and was now embarking his army at Sandy Hook, for New York. The French fleet was about double the force of the English, both in the number of ships and weight of metal.

Count D' Estaing landed Mr. Gerard, French minister to the United States, who was most cordially received by congress, and on the 9th set sail for Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 11th, and blockaded the English squodran in the harbour. The count made all possible efforts to attack the English fleet in the harbor; but found it impracticable to cross the bar with his heavy ships, and on the 22d, agreeable to advice from general Washington, he set sail for Newport, to co-operate in the destruction of the British fleet and army, at Rhode Island.

Admiral Byron's squadron arrived at Sandy Hook, a few days after the departure of the French fleet, in a very broken, sickly, dismasted, distressed situation. The provision ships from Cork, arrived also, and entered the harbor of New York, in safety, to the inexpressible joy of the British army, who were in great want of supplies.

Count D' Estaing arrived off Point Judith, on the 29th of July, and such was the joy upon the occasion, that it diffused the fire and zeal of 1775 and 6, throughout New England. Volunteers by thousands, flocked to the standard of their country, to join general Sullivan, and co-operate with their illustrious allies, in the reduction of Rhode Island.

General Washington had detached the Marquis La Fayette and general Greene, with two thousand men, to join the general enterprise. The American force was now about ten thousand strong.

Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded at Newport, had been reinforced with five battalions, which rendered his force about six thousand strong. Thus balanced, the parties commenced their operations.

The count D' Estaing entered the harbor of Newport, on the 18th of August, without opposition ; general Pigot having destroyed the English shipping, on the 5th, to prevent their falling into the hands of the French.

On the 9th, at eight in the morning, general Sullivan began to cross over with his army, from Tiverton ; the enemy having abandoned their works at the north end of the island. At two in the morning, lord Howe appeared off Point Judith, with a fleet of twenty five sail of the line, where he anchored for the night.

On the 10th, count D' Estaing, eager to meet the British fleet, took advantage of the wind and put to sea. The two fleets manœuvred through the day, without coming to action. On the 11th, a violent gale sprang up, and continued through the 12th and 13th, which parted the fleets, dismasted the French admiral's ship, destroyed her rudder, and greatly damaged several others,

On the 14th, the gale abated, and close and severe actions commenced between several single ships of the two fleets, but nothing decisive. The count, having collected six of his ships, covered his disabled fleet, and stood in for Newport, and came to anchor.

General Greene and the Marquis La Fayette, went on board the admiral's ship, and pressed him to enter the harbour of Newport, and complete the enterprise ; but the fleet was so shattered by the storm, and the officers were generally so averse, that the count concluded to sail for Boston.

The troops under general Sullivan had gained the north end of the island, and marched down upon the enemy's lines, ready to co-operate with the French fleet, and commence the attack; but their sufferings in the storm were so severe, that the troops were in a deplorable state.

On the 15th, the American army had recovered from their misfortunes and were again prepared for action. In this situation, they continued anxiously waiting the movements of the French fleet, to join in the general attack; but to their grief and astonishment, they saw them weigh and stand off for Boston, on the 24th. The mortification of general Sullivan, was greater than the pride of an American soldier could sustain, and he expressed himself unguardedly, in his general orders upon the occasion.

On the 28th, count D' Estaing wrote to congress from Boston, and explained his movements to the satisfaction of that honorable body.

General Sullivan soon saw himself abandoned by most of the volunteers, which reduced his army to a standard below that of the enemy, and he hastened to secure his retreat.

On the 25th, general Sullivan sent off his heavy cannon, and on the 29th, he retired to the north end of the island. General Pigot pursued with his whole force, to intercept his retreat. The advance guard of the enemy was soon engaged with the rear guard of the Americans, and a severe action ensued, that continued through the day. The next day, general Sullivan learnt that lord Howe was again at sea, and that the French fleet was not expected to return to Newport, and he hastened to evacuate the island.

General Sullivan, with the advice and assistance of general Greene and the Marquis La Fayette, conducted his retreat in the presence of a superior foe, whose sentries, were not more than 400 yards distant from the American sentries: and on the morning of the 1st of September, 1778, the retreat was accomplished without the loss of a man, or any part of the artillery or baggage.

The same day, sir Henry Clinton arrived off Newport, on board of the fleet under lord Howe, with four thousand troops, to cut off the American retreat; but learning the departure of the French for Boston, and the retreat of the Americans, he set sail for Boston, in pursuit of the French. On the morning of the 3d, he discovered the French fleet in the harbor of Boston, strongly posted, and returned to New York. On the 5th, lord Howe commenced an attack upon the American shipping in Bedford harbor, and destroyed about seventy sail, besides small craft, stores, dwelling houses, and vessels on the stocks, together with the magazine, to the amount of 20,000*l* sterling.

His lordship next commenced an attack upon Martha's Vineyard; destroyed all the vessels, and carried off the arms of the militia, the public money, 300 oxen, and 10,000 sheep, and returned to New York.

The following extract of a letter from general Washington, shall close the chapter:

"It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful, to contemplate, that after two years manœuvreing, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party, in the beginning, is reduced to the spade and pick-axe for defence. The hand of providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

CHAPTER X.

Operations of the Revolutionary War—Continued.

The British, finding the instability of their dependence on the success of their arms, determined to accomplish their object by the arts of diplomacy. An attempt was made to bribe a Mr. Reed, and other members of Congress, to assist in reconciling the Americans to the English government. The instrument of this attempt was George Johnston, Esq. one of the British commissioners. Mr. Reed replied—"I am not worth buying, but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to do it." The facts were disclosed to Congress, and excited considerable feeling. Congress then resolved, that all letters addressed to members of Congress by British commissioners or agents, or any subjects of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, should be laid before that body. To this resolution, a spirited reply was made from New York by Johnston, and a total disavowal of the facts, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden. At the same time, a ratification of the convention of Saratoga was tendered, that the troops of Burgoyne might be suffered to embark for England. This was declined by Congress, unless ratified by the British government.

The commissioners then appealed to the people, and this was favored by Congress, trusting that the good sense of the inhabitants would treat it with contempt, and cover the authors

with lasting disgrace. Chagrined by their failure in this insidious measure, they denounced the American government in a manifesto, threatening the American people with destruction, if determined to persevere in their rebellion, and adhere to their alliance with France. This idle threat was fairly met, by Congress, by a developement of the mode of warfare adopted by the enemy, and was thus concluded.

"If our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God, who is the searcher of hearts, for the rectitude of our intentions, and in his holy presence declare, that as we are not moved by any light or hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination.

Dr. Franklin, till now a commissioner at the French court, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, with instructions to negotiate for an expedition to Canada. About this time, the Sieur Gerard delivered his credentials to Congress, and was recognized as a minister from the French court.

The marquis La Fayette, at this time, requested leave to return to France; to which congress readily consented, and directed the President to express to him by letter, the thanks of congress, for that disinterested zeal that led him to America, as well as those services he had rendered the United States, by the exertions of his courage and abilities, on many signal occasions. They also directed doctor Franklin to cause an elegant sword to be made, with proper devices, and presented to the marquis, in the name of the United States. Congress at the same time, addressed a letter to the king of France, expressive of the high sense they entertained of the talents and services of the marquis. He took his leave of congress, by letter; repaired to Boston, and embarked for France.

Pending these movements, the Indians, in concert with the tories, began their ravages upon the Susquehannah; entered the settlements, in a body of about sixteen hundred; defeated colonel Butler, at the head of about four hundred men, and cut off his party with a terrible slaughter. They took one small fort at Kingston, and then carried Fort Wilkesbarre; butchered the garrison, and burnt the women and children in the barracks.—They next proceeded to lay waste the settlements with fire and sword, and destroyed the cattle in the most wanton and barbarous manner; but spared the persons and property of the tories.

The following extract from Mr. Gordon's revolutionary war, may serve as a specimen of the distresses of Wyoming:

"The following are a few of the more singular cruelties practised in the attack upon Wyoming. Captain Braddock, who had been taken prisoner, had his body stuck full of splinters and pine knots, and then a heap of pine knots piled round him; the whole was then set on fire, and his two companions, captains Ransom and Durgee, thrown into the flames, and held down with pitchforks. The tories were the most distinguished for their cruelties; in this they resembled the British forces. One of those Wyoming tories, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered with his own hands both his father-in-law, his own sisters, and their infant children. Another, who during his absence had sent home several threats against the life of his father, now not only executed them in person, but was with his own hands, the exterminator of his family, mother, brothers and sisters, and mingled their blood indiscriminately with that of the husband and father."

But to dwell on this subject is painful, and it is only mentioned, that our descendants may have a faint picture of the sufferings which have been endured by their progenitors, that they may know the value of the legacy, which is bequeathed to their posterity.

Such was the general alarm through the Union, on account of these barbarous transactions, and such the spirit of Virginia, that an expedition was sent into the Indian country, under colonel Clark, against the French settlements on the upper Mississippi, in the Illinois country; and it was well understood that the governor of these settlements was the instigator of these acts of barbarity.

Colonel Clark traversed the desert with his party, about twelve hundred miles, and reached Kaskaskia, at the hour of midnight, in a desperate situation, and destitute of provisions; but being undiscovered, he resolved to strike the fatal blow. He entered the town immediately, and secured the whole, consisting of two hundred and fifty houses, with the fort, the governor and all the inhabitants, without even an alarm, and sent the governor to Virginia, with all his written instructions from Quebec, Montreal, Detroit and Michilimakinac, for exciting the Indians to war, and offering a bounty on scalps. Colonel Clark administered the oath of allegiance to this village, and sent detachments to surprise the other villages; which was done in regular succession, and the oath of allegiance administered, until the whole were subdued to the allegiance of the United States.

A scene of the same stamp of that at Wyoming, but from a very different quarter, is now before us.

Lord Cornwallis detached general Gray, with his light infantry, to surprise and cut off the American forces on North

river, in conjunction with a detachment from general Kniphausen's corps; but the expedition was defeated by some deserters, who gave timely notice to general Wayne, and he eluded the attack. General Gray however, conducted his movements with such despatch as to surprise colonel Baylor's troop of horse, asleep and naked in their quarters; (September 27th,) no quarter was the order of the day, and the whole were given up to indiscriminate butchery, and bayoneted in cold blood, while begging for mercy.

Sir Henry Clinton detached captain Ferguson, with about three hundred men, upon an expedition to Little Egg-Harbor, under a strong convoy, to destroy the American shipping and privateers; but these being removed, captain Ferguson proceeded up to Chesnut Neck, where he destroyed such vessels as were there, together with the whole village, and laid waste the adjacent country, and rejoined the squadron.—October 5th.

On the 15th, the convoy with the troops, moved round to another landing place not far distant, and landed two hundred and fifty men under the command of captain Ferguson, who advanced into the country, in the silence of night, and surprised count Pulaski's light infantry; killed the baron De Base and lieutenant de la Broderic, with fifty privates. These were mostly butchered in cold blood, begging for mercy, under the orders of *no quarters*, as before; but count Pulaski closed this horrid scene, by a sudden charge of his cavalry, that put to flight the murderous foe, and thus saved the remnant of his infantry. Captain Ferguson made a hasty retreat, embarked his party, and returned to New York.

Admiral Graves arrived at New-York, on the 16th of October, in a most shattered condition, by a violent storm which detained him the remainder of the month to repair the fleet. About the first of November, he put to sea, and appeared off the harbour of Boston, on a visit to the count D' Estaing; but a violent storm here overtook him, scattered his fleet, destroyed the Somerset of 64 guns on the shores of Cape Cod, and forced the rest into Rhode Island for shelter.

From this time the war assumed the most savage aspect, and exhibited the most unrelenting barbarity. Except in few instances, the rules of civilized warriors seemed hardly to be known, and the combatants seemed mutually determined on a war of extermination. The war was carried anew into the Susquehannah country. Col. Wm. Butler, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, with a band of riflemen, led an expedition to the Indian villages, which he destroyed, and after enduring the greatest hardships, returned in safety in sixteen days. To avenge this incursion, colonel John Butler, at the

head of a strong party, surprised colonel Alden at Cherry Valley, who was killed, and the greatest cruelties were perpetrated. Fifty or sixty men, women, and children were killed or made captives, and even the dead were made monuments of savage barbarities.

All further designs against the north, seemed now to be abandoned. Clinton and Prescott, who commanded in East Florida, concerted a plan of operations against Georgia. Before this could be carried into effect, two parties entered Georgia from Florida, one by land, and the other by water. The latter advanced to Sunbury, and summoned the place to surrender, but receiving a spirited reply from colonel Mackintosh, the attempt was abandoned. The other party made for Savannah, but being firmly opposed by general Screven and colonel Elbert, nothing was effected, if we except the plundering of negroes and cattle, and the commission of the most wanton barbarities. Colonel Screven was killed in the defence.

On the 27th of November, 1778. colonel Campbell embarked at Sandy Hook, at the head of one regiment, two battalions of regulars, and four of tories, with a detachment of artillery, in all about twenty-five hundred men, and arrived at the mouth of the Savannah, the latter part of December, and soon landed his troops. General R. Howe was posted in this place, at the head of about eight hundred militia and regulars, worn down by a fruitless expedition against Florida. He chose a judicious position to cover Savannah, but was out generaled, surprised in camp, and routed with a considerable loss of men, and arms. The fort with its contents, forty eight pieces of cannon, twenty three mortars, all the shipping, a large store of provisions, and the capital of the state fell into the hands of the victors. The defenceless inhabitants were bayoneted in the streets, and the remnant of the troops escaped to South Carolina. About this time, Sunbury fell into the hands of general Prescott, who marched to Savannah, and took command of the royal army. The inhabitants were directed to lay down their arms, or use them in support of the royal cause.

On the 25th of September, general Lincoln was appointed to the command of the southern army, but he did not arrive at Charleston until the 4th of December. He was joined by generals Ashe and Rutherford, with about two thousand North Carolina militia, destined to act in defence of South Carolina. As Georgia was the point of attack, general Lincoln raised something less than a thousand men, and joined the remains of the troops under colonel Elbert, establishing his head quarters at Purysburg. Here he found himself at the head of but fourteen hundred men, and even this small force destitute of arms, cannon, tents, and almost of powder and lead. The militia of

South Carolina were without discipline or subordination, and on the 24th of January, 1779, they had generally returned to their homes. About eleven hundred militia from North Carolina supplied their place, and the whole force was about twenty four hundred.

General Prescott had taken possession of Port Royal Island, South Carolina, and general Moultrie, at the head of the Charleston militia, attacked the island, dislodged the enemy, and compelled the colonel to retire into Georgia, with much loss. He took post at Augusta, and by fomenting divisions, and encouraging insurrections, caused much distress. But a party from the district of Ninety-six, under colonel Pickens, pursued the banditti, which they overtook, routed, killed, or dispersed, and their leader, colonel Boyd, was slain. The remainder threw themselves on the clemency of the state. Seventy were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but the sentence was executed on five of the principals only, and the remainder were pardoned.

General Lincoln determined to dislodge the enemy from Georgia, and directed general Williamson to take a strong position near Augusta, to watch the motions of colonel Campbell, and general Ashe, was ordered to the support of general Williamson, with about two thousand men. On receiving the intelligence of this junction, the British retired about fourteen miles down the river. Measures were concerted by the American generals, and the plan of operations settled.

About this time, colonel Prevost gained the rear of the American camp by a circuitous march, and commenced a furious attack. The continentals advanced to the charge, to check the invaders; but the militia were panic struck, and flight ensued. The regulars under general Elbert were cut to pieces, and the militia, under general Ashe, never returned. Americans lost, one hundred and fifty killed, and one hundred and sixty-two captured. The wounded not numbered. About four hundred and fifty rejoined general Lincoln. Georgia now belonged to the enemy, and a free communication was opened with the tories of South Carolina.

In this state of alarm, John Rutledge was appointed governor of the state, and to him and the council was given a dictatorial power. A large body of militia was assembled at Orangeburg, near the centre of the state, to act as might be required. General Williamson sent parties into Georgia to distress and plunder the enemy. On this, general Lincoln remarked to the governor, that the innocent and the guilty, the aged and infirm, women and children, would be equally exposed to the effects of this order. General Lincoln, was now reinforced at his camp, Black swamp, and advanced into Geor-

gia, leaving a strong guard under general Moultrie, at Purysburg. Prescott permitted the Americans to advance one hundred and fifty miles, that he might surprise general Moultrie. Moultrie eluded the attack, by a change of position.

General Lincoln, learning the movements of Prescott, moved by forced marches in support of Moultrie, and to cover Charleston. The governor took alarm by the movements of Prescott, and destroyed the suburbs, that he might guard against the advance of the enemy. The neighbouring militia were called in to join his troops in defence of Charleston.

On the 11th, general Prescott crossed the ferry, and appeared before Charleston, on which day the count Pulaski arrived, and entered into the defence of this city with spirit. The object of general Prescott was, to carry the town before general Lincoln could arrive, and his operations were conducted with such vigour, that the civil authority sent out the following proposition.

"South Carolina will remain in a state of neutrality till the close of the war, and then follow the fate of her neighbors, on condition, the royal army withdraw." To which general Prescott replied: "The garrison are in arms, and they shall surrender prisoners of war."

Before general Prescott could accomplish any thing of importance, general Lincoln arrived, and the enemy withdrew to Beaufort, and thence to Georgia. Plunder and devastation marked its steps. Slaves to the number of three thousand were taken, and sent for sale to the West-Indies.

An expedition was fitted out by Sir Henry Clinton, under Sir George Collier and general Matthews, from New York, who took possession of Portsmouth and the remains of Norfolk, in Virginia, in May, 1779. On the same day, a detachment was sent to Suffolk, and destroyed provisions, naval stores, and vessels, leaving the town in ashes, and gentlemen's seats, as well as plantations were burnt and ravaged. On the coast, the same ravages were committed by the fleet. About one hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed or captured, with about three thousand hogsheads of tobacco.

About this time a successful attempt was made against Stoney Point and Verplank, by Sir Henry Clinton, after which he went forward to the Highlands.

Previous to these operations, sir Henry Clinton had concerted measures with the tories and British under his command, to assume a general system of predatory war in America, and submitted his plans to the British ministry, who expressed their approbation. This plan soon reached the American commission at Paris, and was communicated to governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, on the 6th of April, 1779.

Sir Henry Clinton detached general Tryon, (late governor of New York) with 2600 land forces, protected by a squadron under sir George Collier, and supported by general Garth, to begin their depredations in Connecticut. On the 4th of July, the armament moved into the sound, and the commanders issued their proclamation to the citizens of Connecticut, offering pardon and protection to all such as would return to their allegiance; but threatening ruin and destruction to all who should reject this overture. On the morning of the 6th, general Tryon landed his division at East Haven; general Garth landed at the same time, at West Haven, and proceeded directly to New Haven, and gave up the town to promiscuous pillage. The militia collected so fast on the next day, that the enemy abandoned the town in haste; burnt several stores on long wharf, and embarked their troops.

The infamous Tryon next proceeded to the plunder of East Haven, and then sailed for Fairfield. The town and vicinity were laid in ruins, and the enemy embarked for Norwalk, which was next laid in ashes. He then returned to New York.

In this incursion, four houses for public worship, near one hundred dwellings, eighty barns, about thirty stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels were burnt. And in addition to this destruction of property, the greatest acts of brutality were perpetrated. Women were insulted and abused, while their apparel was robbed, and desks, trunks, and closets were rifled.

But a plan was concerted by general Washington, which kept in check this hero of rapine and conflagration This plan issued in the capture of Stoney Point, on the Hudson.

General Wayne commenced his movements against Stoney Point, on the 15th, at noon; and after having crossed the mountains, through dangerous and difficult defiles, he approached the fort, about eight of the same evening. Having reconnoitered the position of the enemy, the general put himself at the head of his brave troops, and at twenty minutes past twelve, precisely, on the night of the 16th, entered the fort with screwed bayonets, amidst a most tremendous fire of musket and grape, and carried the fortress without firing a gun. Lieutenant-colonel Fleury entered the fort with his division, upon the opposite side, at the same time, and both parties met in the centre; but the garrison was spared and made prisoners of war, to the number of five hundred and forty three. General Wayne dismantled the fort, and brought off the cannon, stores, &c. agreeable to orders.

Congress passed a vote of thanks to general Washington, general Wayne, and the officers and soldiers under their command, for the masterly exploit in the capture of Stoney Point.

The English having persuaded the six nations, excepting the Oneidas, to take up the hatchet against the United States, general Sullivan was sent with a detachment of from four to five thousand men to chastise them. He marched up the Susquehannah, and attacked them in their fortifications, which were well constructed. The resistance was obstinate, but they were compelled to yield, and took to flight. According to his instructions, their country was devastated, and one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn were consumed.

The attention of the reader will now be turned to the ocean, where the brilliant achievements of our hardy tars struck with terror "the mistress of the seas."

About the last of July, the American captain, John Paul Jones, sailed from port L'Orient, in France, on a cruise, on board the French ship, the Bon Homme Richard, of forty guns, and 375 men; accompanied by frigates Alliance, of thirty-six guns, Pallas, thirty-two guns, and the Vengeance, an armed brig, of twelve guns, and a cutter. Commodore Jones cruised off the coast of Scotland, with his little squadron, until he fell in with the homeward bound Baltic fleet, under the convoy of the Serapis, captain Pierson, and Countess of Scarborough, captain Pearcy. When captain Pierson discovered commodore Jones, he made sail to cover the convoy, and gave signal at the same time, for the Countess of Scarborough to join him, which was immediately done, September 23.

Commodore Jones immediately laid his ship along side of the Serapis, and commenced an action, which soon became desperate; but the Serapis appeared to reap advantage from her superior management. To obviate this, commodore Jones laid his ship across the bow of the Serapis, and the ships grappled, yard arm and yard arm, and the muzzles of their guns were nearly in contact. In this position they lay, vomiting forth death, and strewing the decks with carnage and destruction, about two hours. Both ships were frequently on fire, but the Serapis not less than ten or twelve times. The Alliance attempted to co-operate in the action, and with some good effect, until the darkness of the evening rendered it impossible to distinguish correctly, when she killed eleven men, and wounded several others, on board the Bon Homme Richard. At this critical moment, the Serapis struck, and closed the sanguinary scene. The Bon Homme Richard, at the close of the action, was so much of a wreck, as to have seven feet of water in her hold, which rendered it necessary to remove the crew on board the Serapis, and the wounded on board the Pallas. On the 24th, her pumps were closely plied; but on the 25th she went down: fortunately no lives were lost.

The Pallas engaged and took the Countess of Scarborough, at the same time, and commodore Jones sailed with his prizes, for the coast of Holland, and anchored off the Texel.

We shall now return to the operations in the southern states. Instead of pursuing general Prescott in his retreat to Georgia, general Lincoln devoted all his powers and strength, to the defence of Charleston, against any further attack. After learning the success of the count D'Estaing in the West Indies, governor Rutledge, general Lincoln, and the French consul, wrote to the count, inviting him to co-operate with the Americans in the reduction of Savannah. The invitation was accepted, and on the first of September he arrived off Charleston, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. A British eighty gun ship and three frigates were taken by surprise.

On the arrival of the count, general Lincoln marched with all his troops for Savannah. The fleet sailed to join him: the French troops were landed in ten or twelve days, and count D'Estaing summoned the town to surrender to the arms of the king of France. General Lincoln remonstrated against this, as the Americans were acting in concert. The count persisted, and general Prescott demanded a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, to deliberate, which was granted. During this time, seven or eight hundred troops arrived from Beaufort, and general Prescott determined to defend the town to the last extremity. The count saw his error, and consulted general Lincoln, and they united their efforts to carry the town by a regular siege. On the 23d of September, the allies broke ground, and commenced their operations. On the 4th of October, they opened their batteries, and began to play upon the town with nine mortars, and fifty-four pieces of cannon, which continued four or five days without intermission, but without any apparent effect. On the morning of the 8th, the enemy sallied out and attempted to set fire to the abattis; but the materials were green, the weather moist, and the attempt failed. General Prescott next requested, that the women and children might be removed; but this was refused, and the allies resolved to carry the town by storm. The morning of the 9th was the time agreed upon, and the assault commenced. The attack was well concerted and bravely executed by the allies; yet the fire of the enemy was so destructive, that the troops gave way, after having planted the French and American standards upon the British redoubts. At this eventful moment, the brave count Pulaski fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his legion, when charging the enemy in their rear, in the full career of victory. The allies supported this desperate conflict fifty-five minutes, under a deadly fire from the enemy's batte-

ries, and then made good their retreat, with the loss of six hundred and thirty-seven French, and two hundred and thirty-four continentals, killed and wounded.

The defence of the place was well conducted by general Prescott, and he certainly deserved the applause of his king and country.

In consideration of the bravery of count Pulaski, the congress resolved that a monument be erected to his memory.

The count D'Estaing soon embarked, and seven ships were ordered for the Chesapeake, one of which only, arrived at the place of destination, the fleet having been dispersed by a storm. The remainder steered for the West Indies.

As sir Henry Clinton expected an attack on New York by the French fleet, general Pigot was ordered to evacuate Rhode Island, which order was accomplished, and the troops repaired to head quarters, at New York.

Near the close of December, as the coast was still clear, sir Henry planned an expedition to South Carolina. He embarked seven thousand five hundred troops, under convoy of admiral Arbuthnot, and about the last of January, 1780, he appeared off Charleston. As one ordnance ship and several transports had been wrecked and lost on the passage, and several taken by the Americans, he was not prepared to effect a landing, until February 11th, when he landed on the south side of John's island, thirty miles from the city.

But this expedition had been foreseen by congress, and preparations were made to meet it. Three continental frigates were to sail for the port, and a trusty officer was despatched to the Havanna, in order to obtain ships and troops for the defence, promising as a return, two thousand men to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reductioa of St. Augustine.

To the force of seven or eight thousand men, general Lincoln could oppose but two thousand four hundred, near half of whom were militia; yet with them he hoped to defend the city. The continental frigates arrived, and landing their crews, guns, and equipments, prepared to act on the defensive. The British admiral entered the harbour with all the ships which could pass the bar.

On the 10th of April, the town was summoned to surrender, which the commander refused. On the 12th, sir Henry opened his batteries on the town, and his fire was promptly returned during eight successive days. On the 18th, a reinforcement arrived from New York, of three thousand men, and sir Henry approached within three hundred yards of the American lines. A council of war was now called, by general Lincoln, of which the following was the result:

"A retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable, for the undermentioned causes.

1. The authority is averse to it, and would counteract the measure.

2. It must be performed in the face of a superior enemy, across a river three miles wide.

3. The passes are occupied by the enemy, which must be forced.

4. All these obstacles being overcome, the Santee must be crossed without boats, in the face of a pursuing enemy.—We therefore advise to make immediate terms with the enemy."

General Lincoln, however, determined to continue the defence; but, on the 26th, general Lincoln again summoned another council of war, and at the eventful moment, the flag of the enemy was seen to wave on the walls of fort Moultrie. Sullivan's Island fell into the hands of the enemy, on the 6th of May.

Sir Henry Clinton pushed his approaches, and on the 8th, he opened a correspondence with general Lincoln; renewed his summons, offered terms, &c. and threatened to renew hostilities at 8 o'clock. The eventful hour arrived; and awful, solemn silence ensued; neither party fired a gun; all was anxious suspense for an hour, yet neither party moved a proposition. At 9, the besieged opened a fire upon the enemy, who in their turn, opened their batteries upon the town, which threatened to bury it in ruins. The town was repeatedly on fire, and many houses were burnt; at the same time, sir Henry advanced his last parallel to the distance of twenty yards, and prepared for a general assault, by sea and land.

The critical moment had now arrived; the people by their leaders, called on general Lincoln to renew the conference, and make terms with the enemy. The lieutenant-governor and council enforced the request. The militia threw down their arms, and all was submission.

General Lincoln renewed the conference with sir Henry, and accepted his terms. Sir Henry complied, and the next day the garrison, with all such as had borne arms, marched out and became prisoners of war, May 12th.

The French consul, and the subjects of France and Spain, were, with their houses and effects, to be protected; but they themselves were to be considered prisoners of war.

At this time, colonel Buford was advancing through the upper country, with a party of 300 Virginians, to the relief of Charleston. When colonel Tarleton learnt the position of this party, he advanced with about 700 cavalry and mounted in-

fantry, by a forced march of 105 miles, in fifty-four hours, and surprised them at the Waxhaws, and summoned the colonel to surrender. A parley ensued; and during the conference, colonel Tarleton surrounded the party, and cut them to pieces, while begging for mercy. Thirty-seven only, were made prisoners, and the remainder were either killed or wounded in the butchery. Lord Cornwallis highly applauded the act, and recommended colonel Tarleton specially, to the favor of his sovereign. With this blow, the state of South Carolina was subdued, and a regular British government was organized.

General Gates, then in Virginia, was appointed to succeed general Lincoln, in the southern command.

Georgia and South Carolina were now wholly subdued, and the enemy saw his way clear, to advance into North Carolina.

To counteract these movements of Tarleton, and keep up the spirits of the people, generals Marion, and Sumpter, at the head of their flying parties, kept up a system of predatory warfare, that greatly harrassed and annoyed the enemy. So sharp and desperate were their attacks, that in one instance, general Sumpter reduced the prince of Wales' regiment, from the number of 273 to nine.

While the brave Sumpter was thus harrassing the enemy, and animating the zeal of the inhabitants, a considerable force was traversing the middle states southward, for the relief of the British troops.

On the 6th of June, generals Kniphausen, Robertson, Tryon, and Sterling, crossed over from Staten Island into New Jersey, at the head of 5000 regulars. On the 7th, they advanced to Connecticut farms, distant about five miles, in quest of the Rev. James Caldwell, whose patriotic zeal had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious; wantonly shot his wife in her own house; then burnt the house and meeting-house, with about a dozen other dwelling houses. The royal army next attempted to advance to Springfield; but were checked by colonel Dayton, supported by general Maxwell, and they fled in disorder.

General Washington considered this movement as a feint in sir Henry Clinton, to open the way for an attack upon West Point; he accordingly detached general Greene, at the head of a strong party, to watch the motions of the enemy. General Washington learning from general Greene, that Springfield was their object of destination, sent forward a detachment to support general Greene.

The enemy advanced upon Springfield, at five in the morning of the 23d of June. General Greene disputed every pass valiantly; but obstinate bravery was constrained to yield to superior numbers; general Greene retired to the high grounds, and the enemy gained the town. Here the ravages of the

Farms were renewed; Britannia played the savage again, and Springfield smoked in ruins.

The commander-in-chief, sensible of the worth and talents of general Greene, returned the thanks of himself and his suffering country, to him and the men under his command. But this skirmish was not to pass off so lightly. The militia rallied in considerable force, and drove the enemy to Staten Island, in a precipatate retreat.

The marquis La Fayette, who had been to France on leave of absence, now returned to head quarters. He had negotiated for supplies from the French government, and an armament was soon to follow him. On the 10th of July, the armament arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, consisting of two ships of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, a cutter of twenty, an hospital ship, pierced for sixty-four, one bomb-ship, and thirty-two transports, under the command of the chevalier de Ternay. Also four old regiments of land forces, together with the legion of de Lauzern, and a battalion of artillery; in the whole, about 6000, under the command of lieut. general count de Rochambeau.

General Heath received the count at his landing, and put him and his troops in possession of the Island, where they were handsomely accommodated. The general assembly, then in session at Newport, by their special committee, presented the count with a complimentary address; to which the count replied, with assurances, that a much greater force would soon follow him, and that his whole powers would be devoted to the service of the United States.

"The French troops," added the count, "are under the strictest discipline, and acting under the orders of general Washington, will live with the Americans as brethren. I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shewn me by the assembly, and beg leave to assure them, that as brethren, not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command, are devoted to their service."

The marquis witnessed these respectful attentions to his countrymen, and in honour to our French allies, Washington directed in his general orders, that black and white cockades should be worn as a compliment.

But the wants of the country were pressing, and congress directed, that bills to the amount of twenty five thousand pounds sterling should be drawn on Dr. Franklin, at the French court; and that bills to the same amount should be drawn on John Jay, minister at the court of Spain, and that the money should be immediately applied to the use of the troops.

After the fall of Charleston, sir Henry committed the care of

the southern states to lord Cornwallis, at the head of four thousand men, and returned to New York.

The arrival of the fleet under the chevalier Ternay, at Rhode Island, gave admiral Arbuthnot considerable alarm. His whole force amounted to but four ships of the line. But he was joined by admiral Graves, with six line of battle ships, and felt himself secure from attack in New York. With this reinforcement, sir Henry concerted an attack on the French fleet at Newport, and immediately embarked eight thousand troops. The fleet put into Huntington bay on Long Island. The country was alarmed, and the militia turned out in force. But general Washington made a diversion, by moving his whole force down to Kingsbridge, and threatening New York. The plan succeeded, and sir Henry returned to New York in haste.

In the south lord Cornwallis, having settled the government of South Carolina; prepared to subdue the rebellious spirit of the North Carolinians. This was seen by the Americans, and general Gates, with his shadow of an army, moved across Deep River, on the 27th of July, to watch the motions of the enemy. On the 6th of August, he was joined by general Caswell, at the head of a fine body of North Carolina militia, who were in good spirits, but under bad discipline; and he encamped at the Cross Roads, on his way to Camden. On the 13th, he moved forward his army to Clermont, where he was joined by brigadier-general Stevens, with about seven hundred Virginia militia. An express also arrived, informing him that colonel Sumpter would join him at Camden, with a detachment of South Carolina militia, and that an escort of clothing, ammunition and stores, was on its way from Charleston to Camden, for the use of the garrison posted there.

General Gates immediately detached lieutenant-colonel Woodford, at the head of the Maryland line, consisting of one hundred infantry, a company of artillery, with two brass field-pieces, and about three hundred North Carolina militia to join colonel Sumpter, reduce the forts, and intercept the convoy. General Gates prepared to support colonel Sumpter with his whole force; total about four thousand.

But Cornwallis had anticipated this movement, and entered Camden the day previous, and an attack was meditated on general Gates, in his camp at Clermont. Both generals put their armies in motion early in the evening of the 15th, and their advance parties met in the woods about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 16th; a conflict ensued, the Americans gave way in some disorder, but they soon recovered, and a skirmishing continued though the night. When morning appeared, both generals made their dispositions to contest the field. An action commenced; the regular troops were firm, but the militia be-

ing overpowered by the British bayonets, gave way, and dispersed as they fled. The victory was complete, and the general and his regulars were abandoned to their fate. Several parties of militia, who were advancing to join the army, turned their arms against the fugitives, and thus completed the overthrow. The pursuit continued for more than twenty miles, and the road was strewed with the fragments of this routed army, together with the wounded, the dead and the dying. A party of horse, supported by 200 infantry, at the distance of more than eighty miles from the scene of action, upon the first intelligence, abandoned their ground, and sought safety by flight.

The brave baron De Kalb fell in this action, much and deservedly lamented. He was at the head of the Maryland troops, and second in command. Congress ordered that a monument should be raised to his memory, at Annapolis.

The advantages of this victory were not great. The losses and want of supplies in a sickly season, compelled Cornwallis to return to Camden.

General Greene now arrived, and succeeded general Gates in the command of the southern army.

The country still continued to suffer by the ravages of Tarleton, who was detached at the head of his cavalry to dislodge general Morgan from his position at the cowpens.

He commenced his operations with his usual impetuosity; traversed the country for several days, laying waste every thing in his course, until he arrived at Morgan's position; and commenced an action with the same impetuosity; the Americans were dislodged with some disorder, but they rallied to the charge, and were victorious in their turn. Tarleton was defeated, his army routed, his artillery and baggage taken, and he with the mounted fugitives, fled to lord Cornwallis, January 7, 1781.

This defeat roused his lordship; he commenced a pursuit, and the Americans retired. General Greene had the address to harrass his lordship, and yet avoid a general action, until he arrived at Guilford, near the confines of Virginia, where he made a stand, and gave him battle. General Greene, with his little army had hopes of success against his lordship's pursuing forces, though greatly superior. The movements were well concerted, and well executed, and the conflict was sharp and bloody; but the militia gave way, the regulars were overpowered, and general Greene drew off his troops in good order, and took a strong position.

The severity of the action occasioned his lordship to make a retrograde movement, to recover his losses.

Sir Henry had detached a fleet from New York, with fifteen hundred troops on board, to co-operate with Cornwallis. The troops were lauded in Chesapeake bay, and committed the most alarming depredations. Ineffectual attempts were made to dislodge them. A movement was now made by general Greene towards South Carolina, which had become an enemy's country. He boldly advanced, and gavo battle to lord Rawdon, who was in the vicinty of Camden. A desperate contest ensued, and victory was doubtful. Both withdrew from the conflict, and left the field covered with the dead. Lord Rawdon retired to Camden, and strengthened his position.

General Greene advanced, and by a desperate assault, was on the point of carrying the strong fortress of Ninety Six, the reduction of which would have recovered all South Carolina, except Charleston.

At this critical moment, lord Rawdon retired in person to Charleston; put himself at the head of 1700 fresh troops, then arrived from Ireland, and by forced marches, advanced to the relief of Ninety Six. The approach of his lordship, compelled general Greene to abandon the assault, when engaged hand to hand, with the enemy, and when victory was ready to decide in his favor. The general drew off his army towards Camden in good order, and his lordship pursued; but general Greene eluded his lordship, by filing off towards Charleston and taking a strong position upon the hills of Santee. Lord Rawdon retired to Charleston.

The war, during these operations in the south raged in Virginia, under the command of general Phillips, through the month of April, and the ravages of the enemy exceeded all description. At Petersburg they destroyed all the shipping and about four hundred hogsheads of tobacco. At Osborn's Mills, they took two ships and ten smaller vessels, laden with cordage, flour, &c. Four ships and a number of smaller vessels were burnt or sunk, besides many others, destroyed by the Americans, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; together with about three thousand hogsheads of tobacco, April 27. On the 30th, they penetrated to Manchester, and destroyed 1200 hogsheads more, thence they proceeded to Warwick, and laid waste the shipping, both in the river and on the stocks, also extensive rope walks, tanneries, warehouses and magazines of flour, mills, &c. in one general conflagration, and then embarked on board their shipping.

The baron Steuben opposed this party, but his force was insufficient to make any serious impressions. The Marquis La Fayette was detached with troops to succour the town, but such was the state of the military funds, that when he arrived at Baltimore, he was obliged to borrow two thousand guineas, *on his own*

responsibility, to enable him to proceed. On the strength of this, he advanced to Richmond, where he joined the baron, with the Virginia militia, and covered Richmond. Here he watched the movements of the enemy, though too weak to check all their operations. On the 9th of May general Phillips entered Petersburg, where he died on the 13th.

Of the sufferings of the southern army we may form some estimate, by reading an extract of a letter from general Greene to the Marquis :

" You may depend upon it, that nothing can equal the sufferings of our little army, but their merits. Let not the love of fame get the better of your prudence, and plunge you into a misfortune, in too eager a pursuit after glory. This is the voice of a friend, not of a general."

Lord Cornwallis had advanced from Guilford to Wilmington, and left general Greene in the rear. From Wilmington he advanced to join general Phillips, in Petersburg. The general was dead, but he found eighteen hundred troops, and being thus reinforced, he advanced towards Richmond, in order to dislodge the Marquis. Flushed by recent triumphs, in a letter to sir Henry, he thus wrote " the boy cannot escape me." The marquis did escape, however, and evacuated the place on the 27th.

On the 7th of June, general Wayne joined the marquis with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania militia. While on the march, however, supposing the main army of Cornwallis had crossed the river James, he attacked what he supposed to be the rear guard, when to his surprise, he found the general at the head of the army, ready to receive him. Finding no time was to be lost he advanced to the charge at the head of his column in gallant style. The conflict was sharp, and availing himself of his first impression, he hastily withdrew, leaving the general as much astonished as he found him. He retreated in good order, without pursuit, as Cornwallis probably concluded that it was an ambuscade. His lordship retired in the night, and marched to Portsmouth.

CHAPTER XI.

Treason of Arnold—Major Andre taken.

Immediately after the fall of Charleston, in May, sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, to commence the operations of the season.

About the middle of September, 1780, general Washington retired from head quarters, (near New York) with his suite, general Knox and the marquis La Fayette, to meet admiral Ternay and count Rochambeau, at Hartford, (Connecticut) agreeable to appointment; and about the 21st, the parties met accordingly. The avowed object of their conference was to concert measures, for the reduction of New York.

In the midst of this conference, an express arrived from West Point, on the Hudson, announcing the traitorous designs of general Arnold. The council was immediately closed; the parties retired, and general Washington went to the relief of West Point. On his arrival, he found the fortress dismantled, the cannon dismounted, and that Arnold had fled and taken refuge on Board the British sloop of war, Vulture, then lying in the river.

Whilst his excellency was employed in repairing the fortress, a prisoner was announced, who proved to be the unfortunate major Andre, who had volunteered his services to sir Henry Clinton, to negotiate the treacherous design. His character was that of a spy; his fate was death! Let us pass over this distressing scene. The righteous sacrifice, greatly interested the feelings, and touched the sympathy of every American breast

The feelings of general Washington upon this eventful occasion, may be seen in the following extract from his private correspondence, of October 13th:

"In no instance since the commencement of the war, has the interposition of divine providence, appeared more remarkably conspicuous, than in the rescue of the fort and garrison at West Point. Andre has met his fate, and with that fortitude that was to have been expected from an accomplished man, and a gallant officer; *but I am mistaken if Arnold is not undergoing at this time, the torments of a mental Hell.*"

In the month of October, 1780, Sir Henry Clinton detached general Arnold on a marauding expedition, into Virginia, with about 1600 men and a number of armed vessels; he laid waste the country upon James river, in several predatory excursions, until his progress was arrested by the appearance of the French squadron from Newport. This fleet put an end to the ravages of Arnold, by capturing and destroying a very considerable part of his fleet; and would have caused the destruction of the traitor, had not a British fleet appeared from New York, for the relief of Arnold, and by a naval engagement off the capes of Virginia, with the French fleet, afforded him an opportunity to escape to New York. The French returned to Newport.

On the 18th of December, the chevalier Charles Louis de Ternay, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, late governor of the

Isles of France and Bourbon, and commander of the French squadron in the American seas, died in Newport, and was interred in Trinity church yard the next day, with military honours.

The frequent changes in the army, owing to short enlistments; the want of pay, clothing, provisions, &c. had repeatedly distressed the army, and were at last accompanied with the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, excepting three regiments. In defiance of all the efforts of General Wayne and all the other officers, they seized on six field pieces, and took up their march for Princeton, January, 1781.

Sir Henry Clinton, upon the first intelligence, made some important movements from Staten Island, and sent spies at the same time, to countenance and encourage the revolters. A committee from congress, visited the mutineers at Princeton, with liberal assurances, to persuade them to return to their duty; but general Washington sent a strong force and compelled them to return. A general arrangement was soon made to supply the armies, both with foreign and domestic aid and resources.

On the 14th of May, information was given to Washington, that colonel Greene, with his whole detachment, had been cut off by Delancy's troops, near Croton river, about forty miles north of New York. Colonel Greene had been wounded and captured, and was afterwards murdered, and major Flagg was killed in his quarters.

About this period, general Washington wrote to the governors of the northern states:

"On the calculations I have been able to form, in concert with the most experienced French and American officers, the operations in view, will require, in addition to the French army, all the continental battalions from New Hampshire to N. Jersey, to be completed." He afterwards added, "As we cannot count upon their being full, and as a body of militia will also be necessary, I have called upon several states to hold certain numbers in readiness, to move within one week of the time I may require them."

These despatches were intercepted, and gave considerable alarm to sir Henry, who renewed his exertions for the defence of the city.

On the 14th of June, a junction was effected before New York, between general Washington, and a body of fifteen hundred French troops lately arrived in Boston.

On the 21st, general Washington wrote to the French Admiral at Newport, as follows: "I hope there will be no occasion for a movement, to the southward, for the want of force to act against New York, as I flattered myself that the glory of

destroying the British squadron at New York, is reserved for the king's fleet under your command, and that of the land forces, at the same place, for the allied armies."

On the evening of the 18th, precisely at eight o'clock, the allied armies commenced a grand movement, and marched from their encampments, down to New York, and at four the next morning, they were drawn up in order of battle, while general Washington and count Rochambeau, with all the general officers and engineers, reconnitred the enemy's works throughout their whole line. The next day they renewed their reconnoitring, and in the afternoon, drew off their troops and returned to their encampments.

These movements, together with the removal of the heavy cannon and mortars, left at Boston in 1776, across the country to North river, and down to the army before New York; as well as the intercepted correspondence, confirmed sir Henry Clinton in his fears, and led him to withdraw a very considerable force from lord Cornwallis, for the defence of New. York.

At this eventful moment, count de Grasse announced his arrival in the Chesapeake bay, with a fleet of twenty four ships of the line, frigates, &c. The allied commanders forwarded assurances that they would put their troops in immediate motion, to co-operate with him.

Count de Grasse landed 3,300 troops, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, to reinforce the Marquis La Fayette.

Monsieur de Barras, at the same time, sailed from Newport with the French squadron, to join count de Grasse.

General Washington committed the command of the forces before New York, to general Heath, and put himself at the head of the allied armies, and by a rapid movement, marched to Philadelphia; and thence to the head of the river Elk.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, despatched admiral Graves in quest of count de Grasse. On the 5th of September, he discovered the French fleet in Lynnhaven bay. At sight of the English fleet, count de Grasse slipped his cables and put to sea, and at 4 o'clock an action commenced. The French were victorious, and regained the bay; but the English retired to New York, to repair.

At this eventful moment, de Barras entered the Bay and joined de Grasse, who sent up their transports to convey the allied armies down the bay. The allied commanders, at the same time, held an interview with the count de Grasse, on board the Ville de Paris, to settle the plan of operations.

The allied armies, amounting to twelve thousand men, formed a junction with the marquis, while lord Cornwallis fortified himself at Yorktown, in Virginia. The militia of Virginia

took the field under governor Nelson, and the movement seemed to portend some important results.

On the 27th of September, general Washington issued the following orders. "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins it upon the troops to place their principal reliance upon the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of that boast which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battles with that weapon."

The next morning, the whole army encamped about a mile from York Town, and lay on their arms through the next night. At the earnest solicitations of the commander in chief and the marquis, count De Grasse moved with his fleet up to the mouth of York river, and closely invested Cornwallis.

On the 6th of October, the trenches of the allies were opened upon his lordship, at the distance of 600 yards. On the 9th, the American line began to play upon York Town, with twenty four, eighteen, and ten inch mortars, which continued through the night. The next morning the French opened a destructive fire from their batteries, without intermission, for about eight hours; and on the succeeding night a terrible fire was kept up from the whole line, without intermission, until morning. The horrors of this scene were greatly heightened by the conflagration of two British ships, set on fire by the shells of the allies, and consumed in the night. The next morning, October 11th, the allies opened their second parallel, at the distance of two hundred yards, and another British ship was consumed by their shells.

On the 14th, general Washington ordered two battalions to advance to the second parallel, and begin a large battery in the centre, and in advance. The enemy met this movement with an incessant fire from two redoubts, in advance of their works, as well as from their whole line, that continued through the night.

General Washington detached the marquis La Fayette in the morning, at the head of the American light infantry, supported by the baron Viominel, from the line of the French, to advance and storm these redoubts, which had so annoyed them through the night. Lieutenant colonel Hamilton commanded the van of the corps of the marquis La Fayette. The redoubt was promptly carried by La Fayette at the point of the bayonet; but the captives were spared. The marquis sent his aid, major Barbour, through the whole line of the enemy's fire, to notify the baron Viominel of his success, and inquire where he was; to which the baron replied, "I am not in my redoubt, but shall be in five minutes;" in five minutes his redoubt was carried.

General Washington was highly gratified with the success of this exploit, and commended the officers and soldiers engaged in it, in the highest terms, in the following general orders :

" The marquis La Fayette's division will mount the trenches to-morrow. The commander in chief congratulates the allied army on the success of the enterprise, last evening, against the two important redoubts on the left of the enemy's works. He requests the baron Viominel, who commanded the French grenadiers, and the marquis La Fayette, who commanded the American light infantry, to accept his warmest acknowledgements for the excellence of their dispositions, and for their own gallant conduct on the occasion. And he begs them to present his thanks to every individual officer, and to the men of their respective commands, for the spirit and rapidity with which they advanced to the points of attack assigned them, and for the admirable firmness with which they supported them, under the fire of the enemy, without returning a shot. The general reflects, with the highest pleasure, on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must hereafter have in each other : assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger which they will not cheerfully encounter ; no difficulty which they will not bravely overcome."

On the morning of the 16th, his lordship detached lieutenant colonel Abercrombie at the head of four hundred men, upon a sortie, to destroy two batteries, the allies had erected in the night ; the enterprise succeeded, and he spiked the cannon. The French suffered severely in the defence of these works ; but the British gained no permanent advantage. On the afternoon of the same day, the allies opened their batteries, covered with about one hundred pieces of heavy cannon, and such was their destructive fire, that the British lines were soondemolished, and silenced. Alarmed for his safety, his lordship now began to prepare to retire ; his boats were collected, and a part of his army was embarked across to Gloucester point ; opposite to York Town, then under the command of lieutenant colonel Tarelton ; but a violent storm suddenly arose which defeated the plan, and it was with the greatest difficulty that his lordship could recover his boats, and restore the division.

His lordship now seeing that all hope of succour or escape was vain, and that there was no alternative, to avoid the tremendous fire of the allies, but submission, requested a parley on the 18th, for twenty-four hours ; and that commissioners might be appointed to arrange articles of capitulation. General Washington consented, and commissioners were appointed accordingly.* On the 19th, the articles were signed, and his

* The commissioners on the part of the allies were the Vicount de Noailes, and lieutenant colonel Laurens, whose father had been sent

lordship, with the whole British army, marched out *prisoners of war*. The ships were the conquest of France. The same terms were prescribed by the commissioners to lord Cornwallis, that had been prescribed to general Lincoln at Charleston, just eighteen months before; he was refused the honors of war, and general Lincoln was deputed to receive the sword of his lordship. Thus the mission of the marquis La Fayette to France, in the winter of 1779—80, was consummated by the fall of the hero of the south, at York Town.

The noble generosity of the French officers to those of the British, after the capitulation, called forth the following acknowledgment of his lordship:

"The deliberate sensibility of the officers of his most christian majesty towards our situation; their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe."

Lord Cornwallis pressed hard for permission to embark the British and German troops to Europe, under suitable engagements, not to serve during the war; also that the tories might be protected; but both were refused. His lordship was, however, indulged with the permission, that the Bonetta sloop of war, might pass unsearched; and many of the most obnoxious tories escaped from the rage of their injured and insulted countrymen.

Seven thousand troops under the command of earl Cornwallis, with 1500 seamen, were the subjects of this convention; together with one frigate of twenty-four guns, besides transports, (twenty of which had been sunk or otherwise destroyed) seventy-five brass, and sixty-nine iron ordnance, howitzers and mortars. Also a military chest containing £2113,6s. sterling, which, trifling as it was, could not fall to be acceptable to the army.

His excellency, general Washington, closed this glorious scene at Yorktown, by publishing to the army, both officers and soldiers, in general orders, the grateful effusions of his heart, and ordered the whole to be assembled in divisions and brigades, to attend to divine service, *and render thanks to that God who had given them the victory.*

Congress received the letter of general Washington, on the 24th, announcing the capture of the British army, with the most cordial satisfaction, and immediately resolved to move in procession at 2 o'clock, to the Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning with success, the allied arms

out by congress, as minister to the court of Versailles, and who was captured on his passage, by the British, and confined in the tower of London, where he then remained in close confinement.

of America and France. Congress next resolved, that a proclamation be issued for the religious observance of the 13th of December, then next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, throughout the United States.

Thus joy, gratitude, and praise to God, were united, and became universal, and swelled with transports, every patriotic breast, throughout United America.

Congress resolved, on the 29th, "That thanks be presented to general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, for their services, in the reduction of lord Cornwallis."

They next resolved, "That a marble column be erected at York Town, adorned with emblems commemorative of the alliance between the United States and his most christian majesty; and inscribed with a succinct account of the surrendry of the British army."

Congress next resolved, "That two stands of colors be presented to general Washington, and two pieces of ordnance be by him presented to count de Rochambeau, as trophies of their illustrious victory; and that the chevalier de La Luzerne, be requested to inform his most christian majesty, that it was the wish of congress, that count de Grasse might be permitted to accept the same testimonials, with the count de Rochambeau.

General Rochambeau, with his army, took up their winter quarters in Virginia; but the troops under the command of the marquis de St. Simon, were embarked for the West Indies, and the American troops returned to their former stations, excepting such cavalry and infantry as were necessary to the service of general Greene; these were sent forward in November under the command of general St. Clair, to co-operate in the southern war.

The French fleet, under the count de Grasse, sailed at the same time, for the West Indies, and the operations of the season were generally closed.

His excellency, general Washington, retired to Philadelphia, to give repose to his mind, as well as to confer with congress upon the future exigences of the nation.

One universal expression of gratitude and applause, burst forth from all parts of the country, to the allied heroes, who fought under Washington, and triumphed over Britain. Ministers at the altar, of all denominations, caught the sacred flame, and the temples of Almighty God, resounded with gratitude and praise to his great name, throughout United America.

On the 4th of November, congress honored the chevalier de La Luzerne with their attendance at the Roman catholic chap-

el, where the following address was delivered by monsieur de Bandole, chaplain to the French legation :

"Gentlemen—A numerous people, assembled to render thanks to Almighty God for his mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps resound with triumphal actions, whole nations rejoice in victory and glory, the most honorable office the minister of the altar can fill, is, to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent. Those miracles which he once wrought for his chosen people, are renewed in our favor ; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious, not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded our enemies, and frustrated their designs, was the wonderful work of that God, who guards our liberties. And who but He could so combine the events that led to such success ? We have seen our enemies push forward amidst perils almost innumerable, amidst objects almost insurmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their disgrace ; yet they eagerly sought it as the theatre of their triumph ! Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst, and inclement skies ; poured out their blood in battle against brave republicans, and crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jericho ; whose walls were fated to fall down before another Joshua. It is He whose voice commands the winds, the seas, and the seasons ; who formed a junction on the same day, and the same hour, between a formidable fleet from the south, and an army rushing from the north like an impetuous torrent. Who but He, in whose hands are the hearts of men, could have inspired the allied troops with the friendship, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers ! How is it that two nations, once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so cordially united as to form but one ! Worldlings would say it is the wisdom, the virtue, and moderation of our chiefs ; it is a great national interest that has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah ! they are ignorant that the combining of so many fortunate circumstances, is an emanation from the All perfect Mind ; that courage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impressions of Him who is divine For how many favors have we not to thank Him during the present year ?

"Your union, which was at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your courage, and the knot which ties you has become indissoluble, by the accession of all the states, and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight of a society, which,

founded in equality and justice, secures to the individuals who compose it, the utmost happiness that can be derived from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of effort and misery, is granted by Divine Providence to the United States; and His adorable decrees have marked the present moment for the completion of that memorable, happy revolution, which has taken place in this extensive continent. These large states are at once wrested from the foe. The rapacious soldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts, and oppression has vanished like those phantoms which are dispelled by the morning ray. On this solemn occasion we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the success he has granted to your allies, and your friends, by land and sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recall those events which too dearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurated. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to suspend his vengeance, to spare them in his wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation, to terminate their obstinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed with peace and tranquillity. Let us entreat Him to continue to shed on the councils of the king, your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice, and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us beseech Him to maintain in each of the states, that intelligence by which the United States are inspired. Let us return Him thanks, that a faction, whose rebellion he has corrected, and now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer Him pure hearts, unsullied by private hatred, or public dissension; and let us with one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise, by which christians celebrate their gratitude, and His glory."

This signal and decisive victory over Cornwallis, blasted the hope of the British government, as regarded the subjection of the revolted colonies to their former allegiance. During nearly three months after the 12th of December, 1781, motions were frequently made in Parliament for closing hostile operations against this country. On the 4th of March, 1782, the commons resolved, "That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and to the country, all those who should advise, or attempt the further prosecution of offensive war, on the continent of North America." As one earnest of the sincerity of this resolution the command of the British forces was taken from Sir Henry Clinton, and given to sir Guy Carleton, who was directed to advance the wishes of the British government, for an accommodation with the United States.

Agreeable to his instructions, Sir Guy proposed a correspondence with Congress, and solicited of the commander in chief, a passport for his secretary. This was however refused, as the United States had stipulated not to negotiate without the consent of the French government.

As soon as information of the capture of Cornwallis was received at the French court, the government proposed to Congress the immediate appointment of commissioners to treat of peace. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, were accordingly chosen. These were met by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, at Paris, on the part of Great Britain. Provisional articles were signed on the 30th of November, 1782, and the definitive treaty was concluded in September following.

On the 18th of April, general Washington announced the cessation of hostilities between the two countries, in the following general orders.

"The Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities, between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed tomorrow at twelve o'clock, at the New Building; and the proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read tomorrow evening, at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which, the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his overruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

"The Commander in Chief, far from endeavoring to stifle the feeling of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion, to all the officers of every denomination—to all the troops of the United States in general, and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country so long as the war should continue; for these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army, and who, crowned with well-earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory, to the more tranquil walks of civil life.

"While the general recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude—while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture,—he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared in the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution, of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been

called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of Freedom and Empire, on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.

"The glorious task for which we first flew to arms, being thus accomplished, the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured, by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *Patriot Army*,—nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act; to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions.

"For this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated; every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience, till peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. So soon as these arrangements shall be made, the general is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The general has already interested himself in their behalf; and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

"The adjutant general will have such working parties detailed to assist in making the preparation for a general rejoicing as the chief engineer, with the army, shall call for; and the quarter master general will also furnish such materials as he may want. The quarter master general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war; he will please to apply to head quarters for the form.

"An extra ration of liquor to be issued to *every man tomor-*

row, to drink perpetual peace, independence and happiness to the United States of America."

It is not a little remarkable, that these general orders of the commander-in-chief were read to the army, just eight years from the battle of Lexington. The farewell orders of the general were issued to the army on the 2d of November, from which the following is a selection.

"A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle." His closing words are, "and being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time, of the military character, and to bid adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours both here and hereafter attend those, who, under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be forever closed."

The army was now disbanded by the proclamation of congress, of which Dr. Thacher gives the following sketch, with the parting scene between General Washington and his officers.

Painful indeed was the parting scene, no description can be adequate to the tragic exhibition. Both officers and soldiers, long unaccustomed to the affairs of private life, turned loose on the world to starve and to become a prey to vulture speculators. Never can that melancholy day be forgotten when friends, companions for seven long years in joy, and in sorrow, were torn asunder, without the hope of ever meeting again, and with prospects of a miserable subsistence in future. Among other incidents peculiarly affecting on this occasion, were the lamentations of women and children, earnestly entreating that those with whom they had been connected in the character of husband and father, would not withdraw from

them the hand of kindness and protection, and leave them in despair; but in several instances the reply was, no, "we took you as *companions during the war*, and now we are destitute of the means of support, and you must provide for yourselves."

November 25th.—The British army evacuated New York, and the American troops under General Knox, took possession of the city. Soon after, General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suite, made their public entry into the city on horseback, followed by the lieutenant governor and the members of council, for the temporary government of the southern district, four abreast. General Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast; citizens on horseback, eight abreast—the speaker of the assembly and citizens on foot, eight abreast. The governor gave a public dinner, at which the Commander-in-chief, and other general officers were present. The arrangements for the whole business were so well made and executed, that the most admirable tranquillity succeeded through the day and night. On Monday the governor gave an elegant entertainment to the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne; General Washington, the principal officers of New York state, and of the army, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen were present. Magnificent fire works, infinitely exceeding every thing of the kind before seen in the United States, were exhibited at the Bowling Green in Broadway, on the evening of Tuesday, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They commenced by a dove descending with the *olive branch*, and setting fire to a marron battery. On Tuesday noon, December 4th, the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis' tavern, to take a final leave of their much loved Commander in Chief. Soon after his Excellency entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, Washington, *in tears*, grasped his hand, embraced and kissed him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility; and not a word was articulated to interrupt the eloquent silence, and tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to White Hall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus' Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with deject-

ed countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting and distressful scene."

Congress was now in session at Annapolis, to whom, on the 23d of December, the commander in chief resigned his commission.—"The governor, council and legislature of Maryland, several general officers, the consul general of France, and numerous citizens of Annapolis were present. Congress were seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the union; the spectators were uncovered and standing. The general was introduced to a chair by the secretary, who, after a decent interval ordered silence. A short pause ensued, when the honorable Thomas Mifflin, the president, informed the general that "the United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications." On which he rose with dignity and delivered this address.

"Mr. President,—The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities, to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded, by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations,—my gratitude for the interpositions of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increase with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I respect my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons, who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the

service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country, to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

This address being ended, General Washington advanced and delivered his commission into the hands of the President of Congress, who replied as follows.

"The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called on by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in safety, freedom, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminte with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves, with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that

your days may be happy, as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward, which this world cannot give."

Thus did the United States, after passing through scenes of blood and suffering, at the sacrifice of more than seventy thousand lives, and much treasure, maintain by the sword the declaration of her sages in council, who dared to proclaim her independence. The amount of national debt created by the struggle was less than forty-five millions of dollars. Great Britain lost two large armies, besides thousands killed and taken in different engagements; her empire was dismembered, and the increase of her debt by the conflict, was more than five hundred million of dollars.

It has already been stated in the history, that a messenger arrived while general Washington was in consultation with the French officers at Hartford, and that the council was dissolved, and Washington went to West Point. The following statement is taken from the Appendix to the Military Journal of Dr. Thacher, and may be correct.

"Arnold was apprised that General Washington, being on his return from a journey to Hartford, intended to visit him that day, and he was momentarily expected; accordingly his Excellency arrived soon after Arnold had absconded, and not finding him at his quarters he passed over the river to West Point, to view the works, and with the expectation of finding him at his post, but being disappointed he returned to Arnold's quarters, where he still found that no one could account for his absence. But in a few hours despatches arrived from Colonel Jameson announcing the capture of Major Andre, and this was accompanied by his own letter of confession. The mysterious affair was now developed. Arnold's treason and elopement admitted at once of explanation. An officer was immediately sent to our fort at Verplank's Point with orders to fire at Arnold's barge, but it was too late, she had already reached the Vulture."

Since the revolutionary part of our history was compiled, we have discovered the following, of which we before had no distinct recollection. It is copied from the Military Journal of Dr. Thacher, and deserves a place in every history of the country. It is certainly astonishing, that while nearly every child has heard of the sympathy which was expressed for major Andre, the very existence of Captain Hale has nearly been forgotten. Is it indeed a fact, that "republics are always ungrateful?"

It is with the highest degree of satisfaction, that I am enabled to copy the following interesting narrative, vouched by Major General Hull, of Newton, from Hannah Adams' History

of New England. Let the reader draw the striking contrast between the conduct of the royalists and the Americans, on an occasion where the duties of humanity and benevolence, were equally and imperiously demanded.

"The retreat of General Washington, left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations, remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Captain Hale, of Connecticut, who was then a captain in his regiment. This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

"In his attempt to return, he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

"Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost marshal to execute him the next morning.

"The order was accordingly executed in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a bible for a moment's devotion was not procured, though he requested it. Letters, which on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, 'that the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army, who could die with so much firmness.'

"Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this as his dying observation, 'that he only lamented he had but one life to lose for his country.' How superior to the dying words of Andre. Though the manner of his execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, a justice due to the character of Captain Hale, to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service

were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances. "Neither expectation of promotion nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good, became honourable by being necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprize, by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

"The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections.

"To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

"Should a comparison be drawn between Major Andre and Captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. Whilst almost every historian of the American Revolution, has celebrated the virtues and lamented the fate of Andre, *Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known that such a character ever existed.*

"To the memory of Andre, his country has erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honours and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult."*

CHAPTER XII.

Events and anecdotes of the Revolution.

Perhaps no event which affected merely the life of an individual, during the revolution, more generally touched the sympathies of Europeans and Americans, than that of which captain Asgill was the hero.

On the 24th of March, 1782, captain Joshua Huddy, of New Jersey, was taken prisoner, by a party of refugees. On the 12th of April, he was taken to the Jersey shore, and hung on

* In the autumn of 1821, the remains of Major Andre were disinterred, and transported to England.

a tree, by order of captain Lippincott, without even the semblance of a trial. By a label affixed to his breast, the refuges signified that it was an act of retaliation, on account of the death of one Philip White, whom they asserted to have been murdered, after being taken prisoner. It was shown, however, that the death of White happened after captain Huddy was prisoner in New-York, and that he was killed, on the second escape from his captors, and being ordered to surrender, which he refused. A memorial was presented to general Washington, stating the atrocity of the murder of captain Huddy. Washington addressed sir Henry Clinton on the subject, who ordered a court martial on Lippincott, who was returned *not guilty*. General Washington demanded, that Lippincott should be given up, and threatened retaliation, in case he should not be delivered up to the Americans.

The commander in chief represented the business to congress, and his conduct was unanimously approved.

Soon after the murder of Huddy, the commanders of brigades and regiments, were ordered to assemble at the quarters of general Heath, to decide on the following questions: 1st. shall resort be had to retaliation for the murder of captain Huddy? 2d. On whom shall it be inflicted? 3d. How shall the victim be designated? The answer was to be given in writing, sealed, and without conversation on the subject. The first was answered affirmatively, and unanimously. The victim was to be of equal rank, and the name selected by lot. The painful alternative was adopted, and, the names of British captains in captivity were collected, an impartial lot taken, which fell on captain Asgill, of the British guards. He was of a noble family in England, only son of his parents, and but nineteen years old. The distress of Washington was poignant and visible, but he was firm and inflexible. Every attention was paid to his feelings, and every facility granted him to communicate with sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded sir Henry Clinton, in the command at New York. He was put on his parole at Morristown, and permitted to ride within a few miles of the British lines.

In the mean time, his unfortunate situation became a very general topic of discoure and interest in England. The king of England ordered that the culprit, Lippincott, should be given up to the Americans, and the States of Holland solicied for the liberation of the amiable young Asgill.

Sir Henry Clinton and his successor, both lamented the fate of Huddy; but as the act was committed by order of the board of associated loyalists, they considered Lippincott as acting under superior authority, and therefore not liable.

On the 7th of October, the commander in chief expressed his private opinion to the secretary of war, that captain Asgill should be liberated.

The intelligence of the fate which threatened captain Asgill had reached his parents. The father was languishing with a mortal sickness. His mother, was a *mother* still. Already had she procured an order from the king, which should release her son; but the order was not obeyed.—She wrote to the count de Vergennes, and she did not write in vain. Here follows the letter, which those who have hearts of marble may pass over in silence—it was not intended for them.

Letter from Lady Asgill, to the Comte de Vergennes.

"Sir,—If the politeness of the French court will permit a stranger to address it, it cannot be doubted but that she who unites in herself all the more delicate sensations with which an individeal can be penetrated, will be received favorably by a nobleman, who reflects honor not only on his nation, but on human nature. The subject on which I implore your assistance, is too heart rending to be dwelt on; most probably, the public report of it has already reached you; this relieves me from the burthen of so mournful a duty. My son, my only son, dear to me as he is brave, amiable as he is beloved, only nineteen years of age, a prisoner of war, in consequence of the capitulation of Yorktown, is at present confined in America as an object of reprisal.—Shall the innocent share the fate of the guilty? Figure to yourself, Sir, the situation of a family in these circumstances. Surrounded as I am with objects of distress, bowed down by fear and grief, words are wanting to express what I feel, and to paint such a scene of misery: my husband given over by his physicians some hours before the arrival of this news, not in a condition to be informed of it; my daughter attacked by a fever, accompanied with delirium; speaking of her brother in tones of wildness, and without an interval of reason, unless it be to listen to some circumstances which may console her heart. Let your sensibility, Sir, paint to you my profound, my inexpressible misery, and plead in my favour; a word, a word from you, like a voice from Heaven, would liberate us from desolation, from the last degree of misfortune. I know how far General Washington reveres your character. Tell him only that you wish my son restored to liberty, and he will restore him to his desponding family; he will restore him to happiness. The virtue and courage of my son will justify this act of clemency. His honour, Sir, led him to America; he was born to abundance, to independence, and to the happiest prospects. Permit me, once more to entreat the inter

ference of your high influence in favour of innocence, and in the cause of justice and humanity. Despatch, Sir, a letter from France to General Washington, and favour me with a copy of it, that it may be transmitted from hence. I feel the whole weight of the liberty taken in presenting this request; but I feel confident, whether granted or not, that you will pity the distresses by which it was suggested; your humanity will drop a tear on my fault, and blot it out forever.

"May that Heaven which I implore, grant that you may never need the consolation which you have it in your power to bestow on THERESA ASGILL."

This letter was presented to the king and queen of France—they were much affected, and through him requested the liberation of the hitherto unfortunate captain Asgill. The request was accompanied by the letter of Mrs. Asgill, and the request was granted. Washington communicated the letters to congress, and on the 7th of November it was resolved that captain Asgill should be set at liberty. The resolution was transmitted to the unhappy youth, with a passport for New York. A letter from Washington to him closes as follows:

"I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be viewed, I was never influenced through the whole of it, by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived to be a sense of my duty, which loudly called on me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion. And that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person is not a greater relief to you than it is,

Sir, to your most obedient humble Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

What were the feelings of one whose life had so long been in jeopardy—or the feelings of a much loved and worthy mother, or that of a sister, almost frantic at the news of his being confined by way of reprisal, is left for those to express who can find language. The letter of thanks written to the count de Vergennes, is a production which needs no comment. Like the former, it came from the heart, and will reach the heart.

Second letter of Lady Asgill to the Comte de Vergennes.

"SIR,—Exhausted by long suffering, overpowered by an excess of unexpected happiness, confined to my bed by weakness and languor, bent to the earth by what I have undergone, my

of Massachuselts, he had liberty to write. His wife and the young lady, her companion, paid him a visit, and a hint was given him to take care of himself. The meaning of this was not understood, until major Benjamin Burton was made his fellow prisoner. By him he learned, that orders had been given by Sir Henry Clinton, to convey them to England for trial, They then determined to escape.

On account of the orders from head quarters, they were denied the customary civility of a parole, and were closely and fathfully guarded. The walls of the fortress were twenty feet high, surrounded by a ditch, at the bottom of which was a chevaux-de-frieze. The guard house was constantly watched, and the prospect of escape was a forlorn hope. They determined however to attempt it, and they finally succeeded.

Their room was railed by boards. Their intention was to cut off one of these, pass through, and let themselves down into an entry by a blanket. But a gimblet was necessary, and one was procured for a dollar. With this they worked cautiously and silently, and in three weeks their labours were nearly completed.

The night of the 18th of June was dark and stormy, and they had no time to lose. Having extinguished their lights, they began to cut the corners of the board, and in less than an hour the intended opening was completed. The noise which the operation occasioned was drowned by the rain falling on the roof. Major Burton first ascended to the ceiling, and pressed himself through the opening. General Wadsworth next, having put the corner of his blanket through the hole and made it fast by a strong wooden skewer, attempted to make his way through, standing on a chair below, but it was with extreme difficulty that he at length effected it, and reached the middle entry. From this he passed through the door which he found open, and made his way to the wall of the fort and had to encounter the greatest difficulty before he could ascend to the top. He had now to creep along the top of the fort between the sentry boxes at the very moment when the relief was shifting sentinels, but the falling of the heavy rain kept the sentinels within their boxes, and favoured his escape. Having now fastened his blanket round a picket at the top, he let himself down through the chevaux de frize to the ground, and in a manner astonishing to himself made his way into the open field. Here he was obliged to grope his way among the rocks, stumps and brush in the darkness of night, till he reached the cove, happily the tide had ebbed and enabled him to cross the water about a mile in breadth and not more than three feet deep. About two o'clock in the morning General Wadsworth found himself a mile and a half from the fort, and he proceeded through

a thick wood and brush to the Penobscot river, and after passing some distance along the shore, being seven miles from the fort, to his unspeakable joy he saw his friend Burton advancing towards him. Major Burton had been obliged to encounter in his course equal difficulties with his companion, and such were the incredible perils, dangers and obstructions, which they surmounted, that their escape may be considered almost miraculous. It was now necessary they should cross the Penobscot river, and fortunately they discovered a canoe with oars on the shore suited to their purpose. While on the river they discovered a barge with a party of British from the fort in pursuit of them, but by taking an oblique course, and plying their oars to the utmost, they happily eluded the eyes of their pursuers and arrived safe on the western shore. After having wandered in the wilderness for several days and nights, exposed to extreme fatigue and cold, and with no other food than a little dry bread and meat, which they brought in their pockets from the fort, they reached the settlements on the river St. George, and no further difficulties attended their return to their respective families.

Adventurers of Sergeant Major Champe.

After the capture and conviction of major Andre as a spy, general Washington conceived the project of capturing general Arnold, then in New York, and releasing Andre. He sent for major Lee to his quarters, to consult with him on the subject, and procure a man for the dangerous enterprise.

"I have sent for you," said general Washington, "in the expectation that you have some one in your corps, who is willing undertake a delicate and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward will confer great obligations upon me personally, and, in behalf of the United States, I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost; he must proceed, if possible, to night. I intend to seize Arnold, and save Andre."

Major Lee named a sergeant major of his corps, by the name of *Champe*—a native of Virginia, a man full of bone and muscle—with a countenance grave, thoughtful, and taciturn—of tried courage, and inflexible perseverance.

Champe was sent for by major Lee, and the plan proposed. This was for him to desert—to escape to New York—to appear friendly to the enemy—to watch Arnold, and, upon some fit opportunity, with the assistance of some one whom Champe could trust, to seize him, and conduct him to a place on the river, appointed, where boats should be in readiness to bear them away.

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Champe listened to the plan attentively—but, with the spirit of a man of honour and integrity, replied—"that it was not danger nor difficulty, that deterred him from immediately accepting the proposal, but the *ignominy of desertion*, and the *hypocrisy of enlisting with the enemy!*"

To these objections, Lee replied, that although he would appear to desert, yet as he obeyed the call of his commander in chief, his departure could not be considered as criminal, and that, if he suffered in reputation, for a time, the matter would one day be explained to his credit. As to the second objection, it was urged, that to bring such a man as Arnold to justice—loaded with guilt as he was—and to save Audre—so young—so accomplished—so beloved—to achieve so much good in the cause of his country—was more than sufficient to balance a wrong, existing only in appearance.

The objections of Champe were at length surmounted, and he accepted the service. It was now eleven o'clock at night. With his instructions in his pocket, the sergeant returned to camp, and, taking his cloak, valice, and orderly book, drew his horse from the picket, and mounted, putting himself upon fortune.

Scarcely had half an hour elapsed, before Capt. Carnes, the officer of the day, waited upon Lee, who was vainly attempting to rest, and informed him, that one of the patrol had fallen in with a dragoon, who, being challenged, put spurs to his horse and escaped. Lee, hoping to conceal the flight of Champe, or at least to delay pursuit, complained of fatigue, and told the captain that the patrol had probably mistaken a countryman for a dragoon. Carnes, however, was not thus to be quieted; and he withdrew to assemble his corps. On examination, it was found that Champe was absent. The captain now returned, and acquainted Lee with the discovery, adding that he had detached a party to pursue the deserter, and begged the major's written orders.

After making as much delay as practicable, without exciting suspicion, Lee delivers his orders—in which he directed the party to take Champe if possible. "Bring him alive," said he, "that he may suffer in the presence of the army; but kill him if he resists, or if he escapes after being taken."

A shower of rain fell soon after Champe's departure, which enabled the pursuing dragoons to take the trail of his horse, his shoes, in common with those of the horses of the army, being made in a peculiar form, and each having a private mark, which was to be seen in the path.

Middleton, the leader of the pursuing party, left the camp a few minutes past twelve, so that Champe had the start of but little more than an hour—a period by far shorter than had

been contemplated. During the night, the dragoons were often delayed in the necessary halts to examine the road; but, on the coming of morning, the impression of the horse's shoes was so apparent, that they pressed on with rapidity. Some miles above Bergen, a village three miles north of New York, on the opposite side of the Hudson, on ascending a hill, Champe was descried, not more than half a mile distant. Fortunately, Champe descried his pursuers, at the same moment, and, conjecturing their object, put spurs to his horse, with the hope of escape.

By taking a different road, Champe was, for a time, lost sight of—but, on approaching the river, he was again descried. Aware of his danger, he now lashed his valice, containing his clothes and orderly book, to his shoulders, and prepared himself to plunge into the river, if necessary. Swift was his flight, and swift the pursuit. Middleton and his party were within a few hundred yards, when Champe threw himself from his horse and plunged into the river, calling aloud upon some British galleys, at no great distance, for help. A boat was instantly despatched to the sergeant's assistance, and a fire commenced upon the pursuers. Champe was taken on board, and soon after carried to New York, with a letter from the captain of the galley, stating the past scene, all of which he had witnessed.

The pursuers having recovered the sergeant's horse and cloak, returned to camp, where they arrived about three o'clock the next day. On their appearance with the well known horse, the soldiers made the air resound with the acclamations that the scoundrel was killed. The agony of Lee, for a moment, was past description, lest the faithful, honourable, intrepid Champe had fallen. But the truth soon relieved his fears, and he repaired to Washington to impart to him the success, thus far of his plan.

Soon after the arrival of Champe in New York, he was sent to Sir Henry Clinton, who treated him kindly, but detained him more than an hour in asking him questions, to answer some of which, without exciting suspicion, required all the art the sergeant was master of. He succeeded, however, and Sir Henry gave him a couple of guineas, and recommended him to Arnold, who was wishing to procure American recruits. Arnold received him kindly, and proposed to him to join his legion; Champe, however, expressed his wish to retire from war; but assured the general, that if he should change his mind, he would enlist.

Champe found means to communicate to Lee an account of his adventures; but, unfortunately, he could not succeed in taking Arnold, as was wished, before the execution of Andre. Ten days before Champe brought his project to a conclusion,

Lee received from him his final communication, appointing the third subsequent night for a party of dragoons to meet him at Hoboken, opposite New York, when he hoped to deliver Arnold to the officers.

Champe had enlisted into Arnold's legion, from which time he had every opportunity he could wish, to attend to the habits of the general. He discovered that it was his custom to return home about twelve every night, and that, previously to going to bed, he always visited the garden. During this visit, the conspirators were to seize him, and, being prepared with a gag, they were to apply the same instantly.

Adjoining the house in which Arnold resided, and in which it was designed to seize and gag him, Champe had taken off several of the palings and replaced them, so that with ease, and without noise, he could readily open his way to the adjoining alley. Into this alley he intended to convey his prisoner, aided by his companion, one of two associates, who had been introduced by the friend, to whom Champe had been originally made known by letter from the commander in chief, and with whose aid and counsel, he had so far conducted the enterprise. His other associate was with the boat, prepared at one of the wharves on the Hudson river, to receive the party.

Champe and his friend intended to place themselves each under Arnold's shoulder, and thus to bear him through the most unfrequented alleys and streets to the boat, representing Arnold, in case of being questioned, as a drunken soldier, whom they were conveying to the guard-house.

When arrived at the boat, the difficulties would be all surmounted, there being no danger nor obstacle in passing to the Jersey shore. These particulars, as soon as made known to Lee, were communicated to the commander in chief, who was highly gratified with the much desired intelligence. He desired Major Lee to meet Champe, and to take care that Arnold should not be hurt.

The day arrived, and Lee, with a party of accoutred horses, (one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and the third for his associate, who was to assist in securing Arnold,) left the camp, never doubting the success of the enterprise, from the tenor of the last received communication. The party reached Hoboken about midnight, where they were concealed in the adjoining wood—Lee, with three dragoons, stationing himself near the shore of the river.—Hour after hour passed, but no boat approached.

At length the day broke, and the major retired to his party, and, with his led horses, returned to the camp, when he proceeded to head quarters to inform the general of the much lamented disappointment, as mortifying, as inexplicable. Wash-

ington, having perused Champe's plan and communication, had indulged the presumption, that, at length, the object of his keen and constant pursuit was sure of execution, and did not dissemble the joy which such a conviction produced. He was chagrined at the issue, and apprehended that his faithful sergeant must have been detected in the last scene of his tedious and difficult enterprise.

In a few days, Lee received an anonymous letter from Champe's patron and friend, informing him, that on the day preceding the night fixed for the execution of the plot, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town, to superintend the embarkation of troops, preparing as was rumored, for an expedition to be directed by himself; and that the American legion, consisting chiefly of American deserters, had been transferred from their barracks to one of the transports, it being apprehended that if left on shore, until the expedition was ready, many of them might desert.

Thus it happened that John Champe, instead of crossing the Hudson that night, was safely deposited on board one of the fleet of transports, from whence he never departed, until the troops under Arnold landed in Virginia. Nor was he able to escape from the British army, until after the junction of Lord Cornwallis at Petersburg, when he deserted: and proceeding high up into Virginia, he passed into North Carolina, near the Saura towns, and, keeping in the friendly districts of that State, safely joined the army soon after it had passed the Congaree, in pursuit of Lord Rawdon.

His appearance excited extreme surprise among his former comrades, which was not a little increased, when they saw the cordial reception he met with from the late major, now Lieutenant Col. Lee. His whole story was soon known to the corps, which re-produced the love and respect of officers and soldiers, heretofore invariably entertained for the sergeant, heightened by universal admiration of his late daring and arduous attempt.

Champe was introduced to general Greene, who very cheerfully complied with the promise made by the commander in chief, so far as in his power; and having provided the sergeant with a good horse and money for his journey, sent him to general Washington, who munificently anticipated every desire of the sergeant, and presented him with a discharge from further service, lest he might, in the vicissitudes of war, fall into the hands of the enemy, when, if recognized, he was sure to die on a gibbet.

We shall only add, respecting the after life of this interesting adventurer, that, when general Washington was called by President Adams, in 1798, to the command of the army, prepared to defend the country, against French hostility, he sent

to Lieutenant Col. Lee, to inquire for Champe; being determined to bring him into the field at the head of a company of infantry. Lee sent to Loudon county, Virginia, where Champe settled after his discharge from the army; when he learned that the gallant soldier had removed to Kentucky, where he soon after died.

Colonel John White's adventure.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, one of the most extraordinary enterprises ever related in history, one, indeed, which nothing, but the respectability of the testimony, could have prevented our considering as marvellous, occurred. It was an enterprise conceived and executed by colonel John White of the Georgia line. A captain French, of Delancey's first battalion, was posted with one hundred men, British regulars, on the Ogeechee river, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. There lay also at the same place five armed vessels, the largest mounting fourteen guns, and having on board altogether forty-one men. Colonel White, with captain Etholm, three soldiers, and his own servant, approached this post, on the evening of the 30th of September, kindled a number of fires, arranging them in the manner of a large camp, and summoned French to surrender, he and his comrades in the mean time riding about in various directions, and giving orders in a loud voice, as if performing the duties of the staff, to a large army. French, not doubting the reality of what he saw, and anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which a contest with a force so superior would produce, surrendered the whole detachment, together with the crews of the five vessels, amounting in all to one hundred and forty-one men, and one hundred and thirty stands of arms!

Colonel White had still, however, a very difficult game to play; it was necessary to keep up the delusion of captain French, until the prisoners should be secured; and with this view, he pretended that the animosity of his troops was so ungovernable, that a little stratagem would be necessary to save the prisoners from their fury, and that he should therefore commit them to the care of three guides, with orders to conduct them to a place of safety. With many thanks for the colonel's humanity, French accepted the proposition, and marched off at a quick pace, under the direction of three guides, fearful, at every step, that the rage of White's trooops would burst upon them in defiance of his humane attempts to restrain them. White, as soon as they were out of sight, employed himself in collecting the militia of the neighbourhood, with whom he over-

took his prisoners, and they were conducted in safety for twenty five miles, to an American fort.

General Putnam's adventure.

General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable force at Reading, in Connecricut, then on a visit to his out-post, at Horse Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with one thousand five hundred men. Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, and two field pieces, without horses or drag ropes. He however placed his cannon on the high ground near the meeting house, and continued to pour in upon the advancing foe, until the enemy's horse appeared upon a charge. The general now hastily ordered his men to retreat to a neighbouring swamp, inaccessible to horse, while he himself put spurs to his steed, and plunged down the precipice at the church.

This is so steep, as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly *one hundred stone steps*, for the accommodation of worshippers ascending to the sanctuary. On the arrival of the dragoons at the brow of the hill, they paused, thinking it too dangerous to follow the steps of the adventurous hero. Before any could go round the hill and descend, Putnam had escaped, uninjured by the many balls which were fired at him in his descent ; but one touched him, and that only passed through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, where, having strengthened his picket with some militia, he boldly faced about and pursued governor Tryon on his return.

Notwithstanding the known bravery, good conduct, and excellent character of general Putnam, in the spring of 1818, an account of the battle of Bunker's Hill was published in the Port Folio, animadverting on his conduct in the affair, with much severity. The author was major general Henry Dearborn, and his statements were viewed with amazement. They were answered by colonel Daniel Putnam, the son of the general, and triumphantly refuted by a mass of able documents and certificates from distinguished gentlemen who were in that tremendous conflict. *Why* this attack was made on the posthumous fame of an officer of such celebrity, does not appear. At the time the impression went abroad, that general Dearborn wished to raise his own fame, which was at a low ebb, on the ruins of another. But they are both at rest with their fathers. Peace to their ashes.

The following Eulogium was pronounced at the grave of General Putnam by Dr. A. Waldo.

" Those venerable relics ! once delighted in the endearing domestic virtues which constitute the excellent neighbor,—husband,—parent—and worthy brother! liberal and substantial in his friendship ;—unsuspicious--open,—and generous ; just and sincere in dealing ; a benevolent citizen of the world—he concentrated in his bosom the noble qualities of an Honest Man.

" Born a *Hero*—whom nature taught and cherished in the lap of innumerable toils and dangers, he was terrible in battle ! But, from the amiableness of his heart—when carnage ceased, his humanity spread over the *field*, like the refreshing zephyrs of a summer's evening ! The prisoner—the wounded—the sick—the forlorn—experienced the delicate sympathy of *this Soldier's Pillar*. The poor and the needy of every description, received the charitable bounties of *this* Christian Soldier.

" He pitied littlenesss—loved goodness—admired greatness, and ever aspired to its glorious summit ! The friend, the servant, and almost unparalleled lover of his country; worn with honorable age, and the former toils of *war*—Putnam rests from his labors !

" Till mouldering worlds and trembling systems burst !
When the last trump shall renovate his dust—
Still by the mandate of eternel truth,
His soul will flourish in immortal youth !"

" This all who knew him, know ; this all who lov'd him tell."

Colonel John Crane

Was an officer of much merit, and a complete master of the art of gunnery. He commanded at the breast work on Boston neck, with great effect, and frequently dismounted the cannon in the embrasures of the British works. After the evacuation of Boston, he marched to New York, where he frequently annoyed the British shipping, in passing up the rivers.

On a particular occasion, a British frigate run up the East river and anchored on the Long Island side, near Corlaer's hook. Four field pieces were ordered to annoy her. They were only six pounders. Crane, as usual, was present and pointed the pieces. His sight was remarkably true, his aim was sure. He had from habit and the acuteness of his vision, the faculty of seeing a cannon ball on its passage through the air. A falling shot from the ship he kenned in a direction to strike, as he thought, the lower part of his body, not having time to change his position in any other way, he whirled himself round on one foot, the ball struck the other foot while raised

in the air, carrying away the great toe and ball of the foot. Thus ended his usefulness for the campaign. He was afterwards removed to New Jersey, and surviving the perils of a partial lock, jaw so far recovered as to go home on furlough. He returned the next spring and continued in service till the peace.

Major General Thomas Conway, and his duel with General Cadwallader.

By birth, general Conway was an Irishman, but was carried to France while young. He came from that country in 1777, with proper recommendations; and was created brigadier-general. He was afterwards made inspector general, with the rank of major-general, but other brigadiers remonstrated, and he never undertook the duties of an inspector. His hostility to Washington was obvious, and his attempt to raise general Gates to the office of commander-in-chief, gave him an unpleasant notoriety. General Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, indignant at the attempt to vilify the character of Washington, resolved to avenge himself on the aggressor, in personal combat. In Major Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War, &c. we have the following detailed particulars of the duel. "The parties having declared themselves ready, the word was given to proceed. General Conway immediately raised his pistol and fired with great composure, but without effect. General Cadwallader was about to do so, when a sudden gust of wind occurring, he kept his pistol down and remained tranquil. "Why do you not fire, General Cadwallader?" exclaimed Conway. "Because," replied general Cadwallader, "we came not here to trifle. Let the gale pass, and I shall act my part." "You shall have a fair chance of performing it well," rejoined Conway, and immediately presented a full front. General Cadwallader fired, and his ball entered the mouth of his antagonist, who fell directly forward on his face. Colonel Morgan, running to his assistance, found the blood spouting from behind his neck, and lifting up the club of his hair, saw the ball drop from it. It had passed through his head, greatly to the derangement of his tongue and teeth, but did not inflict a mortal wound. As soon as the blood was sufficiently washed away to allow him to speak, General Conway, turning to his opponent, said good humoredly, "You fire, general, with much deliberation, and certainly with a great deal of effect." The calls of honour being satisfied, all animosity subsided, and they parted free from all resentment. General Conway, conceiving his wound to be mortal, and believing death to be near, acted honorably, in addressing to General

Washington, whom he had perfidiously slandered, the following letter of apology.

Philadelphia, February 23d, 1778.

Sir,

I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief, for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, esteem and veneration of these states, whose liberties you have asserted, by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient and humble servant,
Ths. Conway.

Frederick William Augustus Baron de Steuben.

This gentleman was a Prussian officer, aid to the great Frederick, and lieutenant-general in the army. In 1777, he presented his credentials to congress, and offered to serve as a volunteer under the United States. By this devotion of himself to the cause of liberty an honorable and the lucrative station was relinquished, and congress voted him thanks for his zeal and tender of service. He was a pupil of the king of Prussia, an able disciplinarian and tactician, and was soon appointed inspector general, with the title of major general. He was equally respected as an officer, and beloved as well bred and humane.

While reviewing a troop of light horse, the name of *Arnold* struck his ear. The soldier was ordered to the front, he was a fine looking fellow, his horse and equipments in excellent order. "Change your name, brother soldier, you are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor." "What name shall I take, general?" "Take any other name, mine is at your service." Most cheerfully was the offer accepted, and his name was entered on the roll as Steuben. He or his children now enjoy land given to him in the town of Steuben by the Baron. This brave soldier met him after the war. "I am well settled, general," said he, "and have a wife and son, I have called my son after you, Sir." "I thank you, my friend, what name have you given the boy?" "I called him Baron, what else could I call him?"

A ludicrous circumstance happened while he commanded in Virginia, which shows the firmness of his character, and his detestation of deception. A colonel of militia brought him a recruit, a mere boy, whose stature had been increased by something put in his shoes. After patting the child's head, and asking his age, he turned to the colonel—"Sir," said he, "you must have supposed me to be a rascal." "O! no, Baron, I did not. "Then, Sir, I suppose you to be a rascal, an infamous rascal, thus to attempt to cheat your country. Sergeant, take off this fellow's spurs, and place him in the ranks, that we may have a man able to serve instead of an infant whom he would basely have made his substitute! Go, my boy, take the colonel's spurs and horse to his wife; make my compliments, and say, her husband has gone to fight for the freedom of his country, as an honest man should do, and instantly ordered—platoons! to the right, wheel! forward march!

The generous, the noble feelings of the Baron kept him always poor. His was a heart too sensitive to see the wants of either officer or soldier, without doing his duty towards their relief. He and others were often invited to the tables of the French officers, a compliment he was often unable to return. But finally he could stand it no longer. One of his people was ordered to sell his silver forks and spoons, saying, "it is not republican to eat with silver forks, and it is the part of a gentleman to pay his debts. They shall have one good dinner, if I eat my soup with a wooden spoon forever after."

At a review near Morristown, some fault was committed, which led him to arrest lieutenant Gibbons, who was ordered to the rear. At a proper moment, the commander of the regiment came forward and informed the Baron of Mr. Gibbon's innocence, of his worth, and of his acute feelings under this unmerited disgrace. "Desire Lieutenant Gibbons to come to the front, colonel." "Sir," said the Baron, to the young gentleman, "the fault which was made, by throwing the line into confusion, might, in the presence of an enemy, have been fatal. I arrested you as its supposed author, but I have reason to believe that I was mistaken, and that in this instance you were blameless; I ask your pardon; return to your command—I would not deal unjustly by any, much less by one whose character as an officer is so respectable." All this passed with the Baron's hat off, the rain pouring on his venerable head!—Do you think there was an officer, a soldier who saw it, unmoved by affection and respect? Not one."

Among the numerous anecdotes which show the kindness of his nature, is one which we ought not to omit. It is related in Thacher's Journal, and is as follows:

"A black man, with wounds unhealed, wept on the wharf—(for it was at Newburgh where this tragedy was acting)—there was a vessel in the stream, bound to the place where he once had friends. He had not a dollar to pay his passage, and he could not walk. Unused to tears, I saw them trickle down this good man's cheeks as he put into the hands of the black man the last dollar he possessed. The negro hailed the sloop, and cried, 'God Almighty bless you, master Baron!'

After peace, New Jersey gave him a small improved farm, and New York a tract of land in Oneida county, of sixteen thousand acres; and congress, through the influence of Hamilton and Washington, granted him twenty-five hundred dollars yearly, for life. Of his land, about one tenth was given to his aids and servants, and the remainder was parcelled out to twenty or thirty tenants, on easy terms. He died in 1795, aged sixty-five years.

Captain Houdin, or Udang.

Among the ludicrous anecdotes which are told of revolutionary times, one relating to captain Houdin, is particularly mirthful. He was a Frenchman of singular manners, features, and general appearance. On a return from Boston, in 1780, he related some incidents that occurred to him, which have frequently been repeated to aid in festive mirth. Some wag knowing his vanity and affectation of consequence, had employed a negro wench to make a familiar address to him in some public place. This was a severe mortification, and destroyed all the comforts of his visit. In answer to an inquiry how he liked Boston, this vexation was uppermost in his mind. "I like Boston very well all but one d—d madam nig," by whom he was insulted.

Mr. Bushnell's Torpedo.

Our readers will recollect that Mr. Fulton constructed a torpedo, or machine for blowing up ships, which made some stir among the British during the last war. But few, comparatively speaking, have heard of the invention by Mr. Bushnell for this purpose, during the Revolution. As we have a description at hand, it may be read by the curious.

Mr. Bushnell, gave to his machine the name of the American Turtle or Torpedo. It was constructed on the principles of submarine navigation, and on trial it has been ascertained that it might be rowed horizontally, at any given depth under water, and the adventurer, concealed within, might rise or

sink, as occasion requires. A *magazine* of *powder* was attached to it in such a manner as to be screwed into the bottom of the ship; and being now disengaged from the machine, the operator retires in safety, leaving the internal clock work in motion; and at the distance of half an hour, or an hour, the striking of a gun lock communicates fire to the powder, and the explosion takes place. It was determined to make the experiment with this machine in the night, on the ship Eagle, of sixty four guns, on board of which admiral Lord Howe commanded. General Putnam placed himself on the wharf to witness the result. Mr. Bushnell had instructed his brother in the management of the Torpedo with perfect dexterity; but being taken sick, a sergeant of a Connecticut regiment was selected for the business, who, for want of time, could not be properly instructed. He however, succeeded so far as to arrive in safety with his apparatus under the bottom of the ship, when the screw, designed to perforate the copper sheathing, unfortunately struck against an iron plate, near the rudder, which, with the strong current and want of skill in the operator, frustrated the enterprize; and, as day light had begun to appear, the sergeant abandoned his magazine, and returned in the Torpedo to the shore. In less than half an hour a terrible explosion from the magazine took place, and threw into the air a prodigious column of water, resembling a great water spout, attended with a report like thunder. General Putnam, and others who waited with great anxiety for the result, were exceedingly amused with the astonishment and alarm which this secret explosion occasioned on board of the ship. This failure, it is confidently asserted, is not to be attributed to any defect in the principles of this wonderful machine; as it is allowed to be admirably calculated to execute destruction among the shipping.

Anecdote of General Prescott.

General Prescott, who was taken at Rhode Island by Colonel Barton, on his route through Connecticut, called at a tavern to dine; the landlady brought on the table a dish of succatash, boiled corn and beans; the general, unaccustomed to such kind of food, with much warmth exclaimed, "what, do you treat us with the food of hogs?" and taking the dish from the table, emptied the contents over the floor. The landlord being informed of this, soon entered with his horsewhip, and gave the general a severe chastisement. After the general was exchanged, and he resumed his command on the island, the inhabitants of Nantucket deputed Dr. Gilston to negotiate

some concerns with General Prescott, in behalf of the town. Prescott treated the Doctor very cavalierly, and gave as the cause, that the Doctor looked so like that d—d landlord, who horsewhipped him in Connecticut, that he could not treat him with civility.

Anecdote of a Blackamoor.

When the count D'Estaing's fleet appeared near the British batteries, in the harbor of Rhode Island, a severe cannonade was commenced, and several shot passed through the houses in town, and occasioned great consternation among the inhabitants. A shot passed through the door of Mrs. Mason's house, just above the floor. The family were alarmed, not knowing where to flee for safety. A negro man ran and sat himself down very composedly, with his back against the shot hole in the door, and being asked by young Mr. Mason why he chose that situation, he replied, "Massa, you never know two bullet go in one place."

Heroic Enterprise of Sergeant Jasper.

Among the little band of heroes who so faithfully and efficiently defended Sullivan's Island against the attack of an overwhelming British force, the name of sergeant Jasper holds a conspicuous place. During the heat of the engagement, a cannon ball struck the American flag, which fell into the ditch. The inhabitants of Charleston, considered the fort as surrendered. When sergeant Jasper discovered this, he leaped from an embrasure, picked up the flag, and secured it to a sponge stock, and supported it till secured to another flag staff.

In consequence of his enterprise, intelligence, and activity, he received a roving commission from his commander, who was often first informed of his absence, by his return with prisoners. As a partisan officer he was therefore exceedingly useful. The few men he took with him were of his own choice, and his enterprises successful; and that his humanity equalled his daring exploits, is a truth which is well known, and redounds to his lasting honour. While Savannah was in possession of the British, he entered the city, learned their strength and intention, and returned with information to his commander, colonel Moultrie.

The biographer of general Marion relates an achievement of the sergeant, which was executed in one of his expeditions, the credibility of which is too well attested to be doubted.

While he was examining the British camp at Ebenezer, all

the sympathy of his heart was awakened by the distress of a Mrs. Jones, whose husband, an American by birth, had taken the king's protection, and been confined in irons for deserting the royal cause, after he had taken the oath of allegiance. Her well founded belief was, that nothing short of the life of her husband would atone for the offence with which he was charged. Anticipating the awful scene of a beloved husband expiring on the gibbet, had excited inexpressible emotions of grief and distraction. Jasper secretly consulted with his companion, sergeant Newton, whose feelings for the distressed female and her child were equally excited with his own, upon the practicability of releasing Jones from his impending fate. Though they were unable to suggest a plan of operation, they were determined to watch for the most favourable opportunity, and make the effort.

The departure of Jones and several others, all in irons, to Savannah, for trial, under a guard, consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and eight men, was ordered upon the succeeding morning. Within two miles of Savannah, about thirty yards from the main road, is a spring of fine water surrounded by a deep and thick underwood, where travellers often halt to refresh themselves with a cool draught from this pure fountain. Jasper and his companion selected this spot as the most favourable for their enterprise. They accordingly passed the guard, and concealed themselves near the spring.

When the enemy came up, they halted, and two of the guard only remained with the prisoners, while the others leaned their guns against the trees in a careless manner, and went to the spring. Jasper and Newton sprung from their place of concealment, seized two of the muskets, and shot the sentinels. The possession of all the arms placed the enemy in their power, and compelled them to surrender. The irons were taken off from the prisoners, and arms put into their hands. The whole party arrived at Purysburg, the next morning, and joined the American camp. There are but few instances upon record where personal exertions, even for self-preservation from certain prospects of death, would have induced a resort to an act so desperate of execution; how much more laudable was this, where the spring to action was roused, by the lamentations of a female unknown to the adventurers!

Subsequently to the gallant defence at Sullivan's Island, Col. Moultrie's regiment was presented with a stand of colours by Mrs. Elliot, which she had richly embroidered with her own hands; and, as a reward of Jasper's particular merits, governour Rutledge presented him with a very handsome sword. During the assault against Savannah, two officers had been killed and one wounded, endeavouring to plant these colours upon

the enemy's parapet of the Springhill redoubt. Just before the retreat was ordered, Jasper endeavored to replace them upon the works, and while he was in the act, received a mortal wound and fell into the ditch. When a retreat was ordered, he recollected the honourable condition upon which the donor presented the colours to his regiment, and among the last acts of his life, succeeded in bringing them off.

Major Horry called to see him soon after the retreat, to whom, it is said, he made the following communication. "I have got my furlough. That sword was presented to me by Governour Rutledge, for my services in the defence of fort Moultrie. Give it to my father, and tell him I have worn it with honour. If he should weep, tell him his son died in the hope of a better life. Tell Mrs. Elliot that I lost my life, supporting the colours which she presented to our regiment. If you should ever see Jones, his wife and son, tell them that Jasper is gone, but that the remembrance of the battle, which he fought for them, brought a secret joy to his heart when it was about to stop its motion forever." He expired a few minutes after closing this sentence.

Perhaps few incidents which occurrred in the revolutionary struggle, have been better related, or more widely circulated, than those connected with the heroines who were in the army of Burgoyne, when he surrendered to the prowess of General Gates. The baroness de Reidesel and lady Harriet Ackland continued with their husbands, and were exposed to the hardships and dangers of an invading army, until the fortune of war made them captives. The high character given to general Schuyler in the narration of the baroness, is sufficient to ensure it a place among the anecdotes, if we had no other reason. We delight to honour him, at this late day, whose worth deserves an abler pen than ours.

The catastrophe which so severely affected lady Harriet, was truly distressing. After braving the dangers of the seas, the fatigues of marching, the privations of a camp, and the horrors of war; after exhibiting the most courageous constancy, fidelity, and kindly attention, how is it possible, that her husband could risk his life, and finally die "as a fool dieth," by the hands of a duelist? Astonishing infatuation! fatal delusion! Let every man, and every woman too, give a vote against this mode of "honourable murder."

On the 7th of October, says the Baroness de Reidesel, our misfortunes began. I was at breafast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On the same day I expected Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Fraser, to dine with us. I saw a great movement among the troops; my husband told me it was merely a reconnoissance, which gave me no concern, as

it often happened. I walked out of the house, and met several Indians in their war dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked where they were going, they cried out, War! War! meaning that they were going to battle. This filled me with apprehension; and I had scarcely got home, before I heard the reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, till at last the noise became excessive.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, Gen. Fraser was brought on a litter, mortally wounded. The table, which was already set, was removed, and a bed placed in its stead, for the wounded general. I sat trembling in a corner; the noise grew louder, and the alarm increased; the thought that my husband might be brought in wounded, in the same manner, was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly. General Fraser said to the surgeon, "*Tell me if my wound is mortal, do not flatter me.*" The ball had passsed through his body, and, unhappily for the general, he had eaten a very hearty breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon said, had passed through it.

I heard him often exclaim, with a sigh, "OH FATAL AMBITION! *Poor General Burgoyne! Oh my poor wife!*" He was asked if he had any request to make, to which he replied; "*If General Burgoyne would permit it, he should like to be buried at* 6 o'clock, *in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt, which had been built there.*" I did not know which way to turn; all the other rooms were full of sick. Towards evening, I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows, and thanked God that he was spared to me. He and his aide-de-camp ate, in great haste, with me, behind the house. We had been told, that we had the advantage of the enemy; but the sorrowful faces which I beheld told a different tale; and, before my husband went away, he took me one side, and said every thing was going very bad; that I must keep myself in readiness to leave the place, but not to mention it to any one. I made the pretence that I would move, the next morning, into my new house, and had every thing packed up and ready.

Lady H. Ackland had a tent, not far from our house, in which she slept, and the rest of the day she was in the camp. All of a sudden, a man came to tell her, that her husband was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner; on hearing this, she became very miserable; we comforted her, by telling her, that the wound was only slight, and, at the same time advised her to go over to her husband, to do which she would certainly obtain permission, and then she could attend him herself. She was a charming woman, and very fond of him. I spent much of the night in comforting her, and then went again to my chil-

dren, whom I had put to bed. I could not go to sleep, as I had General Fraser, and all the other wounded gentlemen, in my room; and I was sadly afraid my children would awake, and by their crying, disturb the dying man, in his last moments, who often addressed me, and apologized "*for the trouble he gave me.*"

About three o'clock in the morning, I was told that he could not hold out much longer; I had desired to be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis, and then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning, *he died.* After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and had this sorrowful sight before us, the whole day; and, to add to the melancholy scene, almost every moment, some officer of my acquaintance was brought in wounded. The connonade commenced again; a retreat was spoken of, but not the smallest motion was made towards it. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house, which had just been built for me, in flames, and the enemy was not far off. We kew that General Burgoyne would not refuse the last request of General Fraser, though, by his acceding to it, an unnecessary delay was occasioned, by which the inconvenience of the army was increased.

At six o'clock, the corpse was brought out, and we saw all the generals attend it to the mountain; the chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful, from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain, where my husband was standing, amidst the fire of the enemy, and, of course, I could not think of my own danger.

General Gates afterwards said, that if he had known it had been a funeral, he would not have permitted it to be fired on.

As soon as the funeral service was finished, and the grave of Gen. Fraser was closed, an order was issued that the army should retreat. My calash was prepared, but I would not consent to go before the troops. Major Harnage, although suffering from his wounds, crept from his bed, as he did not wish to remain in the hospital, which was left with a flag of truce. When Gen. Reidesel saw me in the midst of danger, he ordered my women and children to be brought into the calash, and intimated to me to depart, without delay. I still prayed to remain; but my husband, knowing my weak side, said, "well then, your children must go, that, at least, they may be safe from danger." I then agreed to enter the calash with them, and we set off at eight o'clock. The retreat was ordered to be conducted with the greatest silence. Many fires were lighted,

and several tents left standing. We travelled continually during the night.

At six o'clock in the morning, we halted, which excited the surprise of all. General Burgoyne had the cannon ranged and prepared for battle. This delay seemed to displease every body; for, if we could only have made another good march, we should have been in safety. My husband, quite exhausted with fatigue, came into my calash, and slept for three hours. During that time, Capt. Wilde brought me a bag full of bank notes, and Captain Geisman his elegant watch, a ring, and a purse full of money, which they requested me to take care of, and which I promised to do to the utmost of my power. We again marched, but had scarcely proceeded an hour before we halted, as the enemy was in sight. It proved to be only a reconnoitering party of two hundred men, who might easily have been made prisoners, if General Burgoyne had given proper orders on the occasion.

About evening we arrived at Saratoga; my dress was wet through and through with rain, and, in that state, I had to remain the whole night, having no place to change it; I however got close to a large fire, and at last lay down on some straw. At this moment, General Phillips came up to me, and I asked him why we had not continued our retreat, as my husband had promised to cover it, and bring the army through? "Poor dear woman," said he. "I wonder how, drenched as you are, you have still the courage to persevere, and venture further in this kind of weather. I wish," continued he, "you was our commanding general. General Burgoyne is tired, and means to halt here to-night, and give us our supper."

On the morning of the 9th, at ten o'clock, General Burgoyne ordered the retreat to be continued, and caused the handsome houses and mills of General Schuyler to be burnt; we marched however but a short distance, and then halted. The greatest misery at this time prevailed in the army, and more than thirty officers came to me, for whom tea and coffee were prepared, and with whom I shared all my provisions, with which my calash was in general well supplied; for I had a cook who was an excellent caterer, and who often, in the night, crossed small rivers, and foraged on the inhabitants, bringing in with him sheep, small pigs, and poultry, for which he often forgot to pay, though he received good pay from me, as long as I had any, and he was, ultimately, handsomely rewarded. Our provisions now failed us, for want of proper conduct in the commissary's department, and I began to despair.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we again heard a firing of cannon and small arms; instantly all was in alarm, and every thing in motion. My husband told me to go to a house

not far off. I immediately seated myself in my calash, with my children, and drove off; but, scarcely had we reached it, before I discovered five or six armed men, on the other side of the Hudson. Instinctively I threw my children down in the calash, and concealed myself with them. At that moment the fellows fired, and wounded an already wounded English soldier, who was behind me. Poor fellow! I pitied him exceedingly, but, at that moment, had no power or means to relieve him. A terrible cannonade was commenced by the enemy, which was directed against the house in which I sought to obtain shelter for myself and children, under the mistaken idea that all the generals were in it. Alas! it contained none but wounded and women; we were at last obliged to resort to the cellar for refuge, and, in one corner of this, I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth, with their heads in my lap; and in the same situation I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. One poor soldier, who was lying on a table, for the purpose of having his leg amputated, was struck by a shot, which carried away his other leg. His comrades had left him, and, when we went to his assistance, we found him in a corner of the room, into which he had crept, more dead than alive, scarcely breathing. My reflections on the danger to which my husband was exposed now agonized me exceedingly, and the thoughts of my children, and the necessity of struggling for their preservation alone sustained me.

I now occupied myself through the day in attending to the wounded; I made them tea and coffee, and often shared my dinner with them, for which they offered me a thousand expressions of gratitude. One day a Canadian officer came to our cellar, who had hardly the power of holding himself upright, and we concluded he was dying for want of nourishment. I was happy in offering him my dinner, which strengthened him, and procured me his friendship. I now undertook the care of Major Bloomfield, another aid-de-camp of General Phillips, who had received a musket ball through both cheeks, which in its course, had knocked out several of his teeth, and cut his tongue. He could hold nothing in his mouth; the matter which ran from his wound almost choked him, and he was not able to take any nourishment, except a little soup or something liquid. We had some Rhenish wine; and, in the hope that the acidity of it would cleanse the wound, I gave him a bottle of it; he took a little now and then, and with such effect, that his cure soon followed; and thus I added another to my stock of friends, and derived a satisfaction,

which, in the midst of sufferings, served to tranquillize me, and diminish their acuteness.

One day, General Phillips accompanied my husband, at the risk of their lives, on a visit to us, who, after having witnessed our situation, said to him, "I would not, for ten thousand guineas, come again to this place, my heart is almost broken."

In this horrid situation we remained six days. A cessation of hostilities was now spoken of, and eventually took place; a convention was afterwards agreed upon; but one day a message was sent to my husband, who had visited me, and was reposing in my bed, to attend a council of war, where it was proposed to break the the convention, but, to my great joy, the majority were for adhering to it. On the 16th, however, my husband had to repair to his post, and I to my cellar. This day fresh beef was served out to the officers, who, until now, had only had salt provisions, which was very bad for their wounds.

On the 17th of October, the convention was completed. General Burgoyne and the other generals waited or General Gates, the American commander. The troops laid down their arms, and gave themselves up prisoners of war, and now, the good woman, who had supplied us with water, at the hazard of her life, received the reward of her services; each of us threw a handful of money into her apron, and she got altogether about twenty guineas. At such a moment as this, how susceptible is the heart of feelings of gratitude!

My husband sent a message to me, to come over to him with my children. I seated myself, once more, in my dear calash, and then rode through the American camp. As I passed on, I observed (and this was a great consolation to me) that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but that they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances, at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached and met me, *took my children from the calash, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears.* "You tremble," said he, addressing himself to me, "be not afraid." "No," I answered, "you seem so kind and tender to my children, it inspires me with courage." He now led me to the tent of General Gates, where I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, "Never mind, your sorrows have now an end." I answered him that I should be reprehensible to have any cares, as he had none, and I was pleased to see him on such a friendly footing with General Gates. All the generals remained to dine with General Gates.

The same gentleman, who received me so kindly, now came and said to me, "You will be very much embarrassed to eat with all these gentlemen; come with your children to my tent; there I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it with a free will." I said, "You are certainly a husband and a father, you have shown me so much kindness. I now found that he was General Schuyler. He treated me with excellent smoked tongue, beef steaks, potatoes, and good bread and butter. Never could I have wished to eat a better dinner. I was content. I saw all around me were so likewise; and, what was better than all, my husband was out of danger.

When we had dined, he told me his residence was at Albany, and that General Burgoyne intended to honour him as his guest, and invited myself and children to do likewise. I asked my husband how I should act; he told me to accept the invitation. As it was two days' journey there, he advised me to go to a place, which was about three hours' ride distant. General Schuyler had the politeness to send with me a French officer, a very agreeable man, who commanded the reconnoitering party of which I had before spoken; and when he had escorted me to the house, where I was to remain, he turned back again. In the house I found a French surgeon, who had under his care a Brunswick officer, who was mortally wounded, and died some days afterwards.

The Frenchman boasted much of the care he took of his patient, and perhaps was skilful enough as a surgeon, but otherwise was a mere simpleton. He was rejoiced when he found I could speak his language, and he began to address many empty and impertinent speeches to me; he said, among other things, he could not believe that I was a general's wife, as he was certain a woman of such rank would not follow her husband. He wished me to remain with him, as he said it was better to be with the conquerers than the conquered. I was shocked at his impudence, but dared not show the contempt I felt for him, because it would deprive me of a place of safety. Towards evening he begged me to take a part of his chamber. I told him I was determined to remain in the room with the wounded officer; whereupon he attempted to pay me some stupid compliments. At this moment the door opened, and my husband with his aid-de-camp entered. I then said, "Here, Sir, is my husband;" and at the same time eyed him with scorn, whereupon he retired abashed, nevertheless, he was so polite as to offer his chamber to us.

Some days after this we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves, but we did not enter it as we expected we should, victors! We were received by the good General Schuyler, his wife, and daughtes, not as enemies, but kind

friends; and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully finished house to be burnt. In fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollection of their own injuries, in the contemplation of our misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, "You show me great kindness, although I have done you much injury." "That was the fate of war," replied the brave man, "let us say no more about it."*

The fortunes of Lady Harriet Ackland were not less interesting than those of the Baroness de Reidesel, just recited. This lady, says General Burgoyne in his "State of the Expedition from Canada," had accompanied her husband to Canada, in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign, she traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of the season, and with difficulties, of which an European traveller cannot easily conceive.

In the opening of the campaign, in 1777, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the fatigue and hazard expacted before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunctions of her husband. The day after the conquest of the place he was badly wounded, and she crossed Lake Champlain to join him.

As soon as he recovered, Lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign; and at Fort Edward, or at the next camp, she acquired a two wheel tumbril, which had been constructed by the artificers of the artillery, something similar to the carriage used for the mail, upon the great roads in England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to General Fraser's corps; and consequently were always the most advanced part of the army. They were often so much on the alert, that no person slept out of his clothes. One of their temporary encampments, a tent in which the major and Lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly sergeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the major. It happened that, in the same instant, she had, unknowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awaked, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the tent. The first object she saw, upon the recovery of her senses, was the major on the other side, and in the same instant, again in the fire in search of her. The serjeant again saved him, but not without the major's being very severely burnt in his face, and different parts of his

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, from the Memoirs of the Baroness de Reidesel.

body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little time before the army crossed the Hudson, 13th Sept. It neither altered the resolution or cheerfulness of Lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressing, as of longer suspense. On the morning of the 19th of September, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which were not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near an uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general, the surgeon of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in the hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry for four hours together, with the presumption, from the post of her husband, at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions, the Baroness of Reidesel, and the wives of two British officers, Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell; but, in the event, their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeon very badly wounded; and a little time after, came intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination will want no help to figure the state of the whole group.

From the date of that action to the 7th of October, Lady Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials; and it was her lot that their severity increased with their number. She was again exposed to the hearing of the whole action, and, at last, received the word of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity; the troops were defeated, and Major Ackland, desperately wounded, was a prisoner.

The day of the 8th was passed by Lady Harriet and her companions in uncommon anxiety; not a tent nor a shed being standing, except what belonged to the hospital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.

"When the army was upon the point of moving, I received a message from Lady Harriet, submitting to my decision a proposal, and expressing an earnest solicitude to execute it, if not interfering with my design, of passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting General Gates' permission to attend her husband.

"Though I was ready to believe, for I had experienced, that patience and fortitude in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I

was astonished at the proposal. After so long an agitation, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rain for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking, as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assurance I was enabled to give was small indeed. I had not even a cup of wine to offer; but I was told she found from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to general Gates, recommending her to his protection."

This letter was as follows:

Sir,

Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction by family, rank, and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection.

Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons, acting in your situation and mine, to solicit favours, I cannot see the uncommon pre-eminence in every female grace and exaltation of character in this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations.

Oct. 9, 1777. I am, Sir,
M. G. Gates. Your obedient servant,
J. Burgoyne.

With this letter did this woman, who was of the most tender and delicate frame, habituated to all the soft elegances and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth and fortune, and far advanced in a state in which the tenderest cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary, in an open boat leave the camp of Burgoyne with a flag of truce for that of the enemy. The night was advanced before the boat reached the shore. Hady Harriet was immediately conveyed into the apartment of Major Henry Dearborn, since Major General, who commanded the guard at that place, and every attention was paid her which her rank and situation demanded, and which circumstances permitted. Early in the morning, she was permitted to proceed in the boat to the camp, where general Gates, whose gallantry will not be denied, stood ready to receive her, with due respect and courtesy. Having ascertained that Major Ackland had set out for Albany, Lady Harriet proceeded, by permission, to join him. Some time after, Major Ackland ef-

fected his exchange, and returned to England. The catastrophe of this tale is affecting. Ackland, after his return to England, procured a regiment, and at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision. He was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a Lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years; after which she married Mr. Brudenell, who accompanied her from Gen. Burgoyne's camp, when she sought her wounded husband on Hudson river.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Confederation. Formation and adoption of the present Constitution of the United States.

On the 12th of July, 1777, articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up by congress, and ratified by twelve of the states in the December following. This instrument was so imperfect as to be termed by some "a rope of sand." Brittle as it was, however, it carried the people through a perilous war, and what it lacked in energy, was supplied by the spirit of the times. But when the olive branch of peace succeeded to the clarion of war and the din of arms—when private interest took precedence of public spirit, and intrigue usurped the place of national virtue, the wants of the country called for a more energetic compact, and the cause of republican America required a more efficient safeguard.

To effect this object, a convention was proposed, which held its session in Philadelphia. In this august body general Washington had a seat, and was chosen president. On the 17th of September, 1787, the finishing hand was put to the Constitution, which was submitted to the different states, and ratified, at first, but by eleven, North Carolina and Rhode Island refusing their assent. The former assented to it in 1789, and the latter in 1790.

In 1789, General George Washington was elected first president of the United States.

It was with great reluctance, that he accepted this office. His feelings, as he said himself, were like those of a culprit, going to the place of execution. But the voice of a whole continent, the pressing recommendation of his particular friends, and the apprehension, that he should otherwise be con-

sidered as unwilling to hazard his reputation in executing a system, which he had assisted in forming, determined him to accept the appointment. In April he left Mount Vernon to proceed to New York, and to enter on the duties of his high office. He every where received testimonies of respect and love. At Trenton the gentler sex rewarded him for his successful enterprise, and the protection which he afforded them twelve years before. On the bridge over the creek, which passes through the town, was erected a triumphal arch, ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each encircled with wreaths of evergreen. On the front of the arch was inscribed, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

At this place he was met by a party of matrons, leading their daughters, who were dressed in white, and who, with baskets of flowers in their hands, sung with exquisite sweetness the following ode, written for the occasion :—

Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore ;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at THEE the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers ;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your HERO's way with flowers.

At the last line the flowers were strewed before him. After receiving such proofs of affectionate attachment, he arrived at New York, and was inaugurated first President of the United States on the thirtieth of April. In making the necessary arrangements of his household he publicly announced, that neither visits of business nor of ceremony would be expected on Sunday, as he wished to reserve that day sacredly to himself.

In an impressive address to both houses of Congress, he declared, with characterestic modesty, his " incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his " fervent supplications to that Almighty Being whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these

essential purposes ; and would enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute, with succes, the functions allotted to his charge."

At the close of the Revolution, the people anticipated Independence and peace ; but they were somewhat disappointed ; debts contracted during the war bore heavily upon the people.

To remedy these evils, congress applied to the states for a grant of the power to regulate commerce, and to collect a revenue from it. New York alone refused ; but as unanimity was requisite, her single negative defeated the project. In the mean time, the distress increased, and in Massachusetts, where it was greatest, urged to insurrection a portion of the inhabitants. Near the close of the year 1786, they assembled, to the number of two thousand, in the northwestern part of the state, and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation.

Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of general Lincoln, the other of general Shepard. They were easily dispersed : and afterwards abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

It was a question whether the general Government should be supported, or abandoned, or whether the object of the Revolution should be realized or lost.

In May 1787, commissioners were appointed, and assembled at Philadelphia ; George Washington was unanimously elected president. They deliberated with closed doors, and happily it was agreed to sacrifice local interest, on the altar of publick good.

An abstract of this constitution, with its several subsequent amendments, follows : it is extracted from Mr. Webster's Elements of Useful Knowledge.

Of the Legislature. "The Legislative power of the United States is vested in a congress, consisting of two houses or branches, a senate, and a house of representatives. The members of the house of representatives are chosen once in two years, by the persons who are qualified to vote for members of the most numerous branches of the legislature, in each State. To be entitled to a seat in this house, a person must have attained to the age of twenty five years, been a citizen of the United States for seven years, and be an inhabitant of the State in which he is chosen.

Of the Senate. "The senate consists of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature for six years. The Senate is divided into three classes, the seat of one of which is vacated every second year. If a vacancy happens, during the recess of the legislature, the executive of the state makes a temporary appointment of a senator, until the next meeting of the legislature. A senator must have attained to the age of thirty years, been a citizen of the United States nine years, and be an inhabitant of the State for which he is chosen.

Of the powers of the two Houses. "The house of representatives choose their own speaker and other officers, and have the exclusive power of impeaching public officers, and originating bills for raising a revenue. The vice president of the United States is president of the senate; but the other officers are chosen by the senate. The senate tries all impeachments; each house determines the validity of the elections and qualifications of its own members, forms its own rules, and keeps a journal of its proceedings. The members are privileged from arrest, while attending on the session, going to, or returning from the same, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Of the powers of Congress. "The congress of the United States have power to make and enforce all laws, which are necessary for the general welfare—as to lay and collect taxes, imposts, and excises; borrow money, regulate commerce, establish uniform rules of naturalization, coin money, establish post roads and post offices, promote the arts and sciences, institute tribunals inferiour to the supreme court, define and punish piracy, declare war, and make reprisals, raise and support armies, provide a navy, regulate the militia, and to make all laws necessary to carry these powers into effect.

Of Restrictions. "No bill of attainder, or retrospective law, shall be passed; the writ of habeas corpus cannot be suspended, except in cases of rebellion or invasion; no direct tax can be laid, except according to a census of the inhabitants; no duty can be laid on exports, no money can be drawn from the treasury, unless appropriated by law; no title of nobility can be granted, nor can any publick officer, without the consent of congress, accept of any present or title from any foreign prince or state. The states are restrained from emitting bills of credit, from making any thing but gold or silver a tender for debts, and from passing any law impairing private contracts.

Of the Executive. "The executive power of the United States is vested in a president, who holds his office for four years. To qualify a man for president, he must have been a citizen at the adoption of the constitution, or must be a native of the United States; he must have attained to the age of

thirty five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States. The president and vice president are chosen by electors designated in such a manner as the legislature of each State shall direct. The number of electors, in each State, is equal to the whole number of senators and representatives.

Of the powers of the President. "The president of the United States is commander in chief of the army and navy, and of the militia when in actual service. He grants reprieves and pardons; nominates, and with the consent of the senate, appoints ambassadors, judges, and other officers; and, with the advice and consent of the senate, forms treaties, provided two thirds of the senate agree. He fills vacancies in offices which happen during the recess of the senate. He convenes the congress on extraordinary occasions, receives foreign ministers, gives information to congress of the state of publick affairs, and in general, takes care that the laws be faithfully executed.

Of the Judiciary. "The Judiciary of the United States consits of one supreme court, and such inferiour courts as the congress shall ordain. The judges are to hold their offices during good behaviour, and their salaries cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. The judicial power of these courts extends to all cases in law and equity, arising under the constitution, or laws of the United States, and under treaties; to cases of publick ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies between the States, and in which the United States are a party: between citizens of different States; between a State and a citizen of another State, and between citizens of the same State, claiming under grants of different States; and to causes between one of the States or an American citizen, and a foreign State or citizen.

Of Rights and Immunities. "In all criminal trials, except impeachment, the trial by jury is guaranteed to the accused. Treason is restricted to the simple acts of levying war against the United States, and adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort: and no person can be convicted, but by two witnesses to the same, act or by confession in open court. A conviction of treason is not followed by a corruption of blood, to disinherit the heirs of the criminal, nor by a forfeiture of estate, except during the life of the offender. The citizens of each State are entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. Congress may admit new States into the union, and the national compact guarantees, to each State, a republican form of government, together with protection from foreign invasion and domestic violence."

It has already been stated that in April 1789, General Washinton took the chair as the first President of the United States

Messrs Jefferson, Hamilton, and general Knox appointed secretaries, and Edmund Randolph, attorney general.

The secretary of the treasury was directed to prepare a plan for the support of public credit, and report the same at their next meeting.

After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New England, where he was received by the inhabitants with an affection bordering on adoration. People of all classes crowded to behold the man whose virtues and talents exalted him, in their view, above the heroes of ancient and modern times; and to present to him the undissembled homage of their grateful hearts. But to none did his visit give more exquisite pleasure than to the officers and soldiers of the "patriot army," who had been his companions in suffering and in victory, who were endeared to him by their bravery and fidelity in war, and by the magnanimity with which, in peace, they endured unmerited neglect and poverty.

At the next session of congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. Taking an able and enlarged view of the advantages of public credit, he recommended that, not only the debts of the continental congress, but those of the states arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the general government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country.

Upon this report an animated debate took place. Its recommendations were opposed by that party who had seen, or thought they had seen, in the constitution, many features hostile to freedom, and who remembered that Mr. Hamilton, when a member of the convention, had proposed that the president and senate should be appointed to hold their offices during good behavior. They now expressed their fears, that the assumption of these debts would render the government still stronger, by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who, in all the contests, with the states or the people, would be bound, by the strongest of all ties, that of interest, to support it whether right or wrong. This party, existing principally in the southern states, and professing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, took the name of republican.

Mr. Madison proposed, that whenever the public securities had been transferred, the highest price which they had borne in the market should be paid to the purchaser, and the residue to the original holder. After an eloquent debate, this proposi-

tion was rejected. The party denominated federal, and existing principally in the northern states, supported throughout with great ability and force of reasoning, the plans of the secretary; but on taking the vote in the house of representatives, they were rejected by a majority of two.

Afterwards this national measure was connected, as is too frequently the case in legislative bodies, with one which had excited much local feeling. It was understood that, should the seat of government be fixed for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards permanently at a place to be selected on the Potomac, some southern members would withdraw their opposition to the funding system. A law to that effect was accordingly enacted. The former discussion was then resumed. The plans of the secretary were adopted in the senate, and afterwards in the house, two members representing districts on the Potomac, changing their votes. The debt funded amounted to a little more than seventy five millions of dollars; upon a part of which three per cent. and upon the remainder six per cent. interest was to be paid.

The effect of this measure was great and rapid. The price of the public paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to the sum expressed on the face of it. This difference was gained, in most instances, by purchasers of the securities, who, feeling indebted, for this immense accession of wealth, to the plans of the secretary, regarded him with enthusiastic attachment. But in others, this wealth, suddenly acquired without merit, excited envy and dissatisfaction. These joined the republican party; who fancying they were witnessing the fulfilment of their prediction, became more active in their opposition.

The recommendation of the secretary to impose additional duties, was not acted upon until the next session of congress. Those on distilled spirits were proposed in order to render the burdens of the inhabitants beyond the Allegany mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, equal to those of the inhabitants on the sea coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an impost duty was paid. In the beginning of the year 1791, they were laid as proposed. A national bank, recommended also by the same officer, was in the same year incorporated. Both measures met a violent opposition from the republican party.

When the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards, North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to congress to be admitted into the union. The territory of this state, situated between

New Hampshire and New York, was claimed by both, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777, the inhabitants, refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. Although not represented in the continental congress, yet, during the war, they embraced the cause of their brethren in the other states, and to them their aid was often rendered, and was always efficient. Agreeably to their request, an act was now passed, constituting Vermont one of the members of the union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, should be admitted into the union on the first day of June, in the succeeding year.

In 1791, was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921, 326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about nineteen, and the imports to about twenty millions. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

In 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Scioto and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of 1400 men, commanded by general Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chilicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments ftom tlhis army and the Indains, in which the latter were victorious.

Emboldened by these successes, they made more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole was given to general St. Clair. With near 2000 men, he marched, in October, into the wilderness. By desertion and detachments, this force was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the third of November, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, intending to remain there until joined by those who were absent.

But before sunrise, the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. These, who had been hastily formed, were thrown into disorder. They, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the ene-

my, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. In these charges many brave and experienced officers were killed; the loss of men was also great, and no permanent impression was made upon the enemy.

At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops. The instant that the directions to retire were given, a disorderly flight commenced. Fortunately for the survivors, the victorious Indians were soon recalled from pursuit to the camp, by their avidity for plunder; and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements.

In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence, and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigor, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to 5000 men.

In the autumn of 1792, general Washington was again unanimously elected president of the American republic, and in March, 1793, was inducted into office. Mr. Adams was re-elected vice-president, in opposition to George Clinton, of New York. In the progress of these elections, but little party feeling was exhibited; the repose of society was not disturbed, but the citizens raised to posts of the highest honor those whom their judgments and affections designated as the most worthy.

Early in April, information was received of the declartion of war by France, against England and Holland. The United States were greatly interested for the success of France, which had assisted us during our Revolution.

The French people, at the same time, regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The new government, recalling the minister whom the king had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, in South-Carolina, where he was received, by the governor and the citizens, in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his

country, and their cordial approbation of the change in her institutions.

Flattered by his reception, and presuming that the nation and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he assumed the authority of expediting privateers from that port to cruise against the vessels of nations who were enemies to France, but at peace with the United States, a procedure forbidden by the laws of nations, and derogatory to the government of the country. Notwithstanding this illegal assumption of power, he received, on his journey to Philadelphia, extravagant marks of public attachment; and, on his arrival there, "crowds flocked from every avenue of the city to meet the republican ambassador of an allied nation." Intoxicated by these continued and increased demonstrations of regard, he persisted in forming and executing schemes of hostility against the enemies of France.

Mr. Hammond, and the American cabinet disapproved of these proceedings, and laid them before the President, who appealed to the French government, and they resolved that Genet should be succeeded by Mr. Fauchet, and Mr. Monroe was sent out to France to succeed Mr. Morris. The first day of January, 1794, Mr. Jefferson, the secretary, resigned, and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph.

Ever since the peace of 1783, the United States and Great Britain complained of each other as violating the stipulation contained in the treaty. The latter was accused of carrying away negroes, and the former for preventing the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering the debts contracted before the commencement of hostilities. Mr. John Jay, was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain, and succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the court of St. James, in June 1795.

Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.

As the time for a new election for president approached, Washington signified his intention to retire from publick life, and published at the same time his farewell address.

CHAPTER XIV.

Adams' Administration.

In February, 1797, John Adams was declared to be elected president for the term of four years, commencing 4th of March,

and Mr. Jefferson vice president. Washington retired to Mount Vernon, having established his fame as the greatest hero, and most distinguished statesman of the age. He there devoted his time to the cultivation of an extensive farm, and to the enjoyment, once more, of the sweets of private life.

March 4th, Mr. Adams entered upon the duties of his office. The numerous tribes of Indians on the western territories, had been taught by arms and justice, to respect the United States, and continue at peace. Treaties had been formed with Algiers and Tripoli, so that the Mediterranean was opened to American vessels.

The administration of Mr. Adams, was met at the threshold, by open indignity on the part of France, in her refusing to accept Mr. Pinckney in exchange for Mr. Monroe. This refusal roused the sensibilities of Mr. Adams, and he immediately nominated two others, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Gerry, who were sent out to France, to co-operate with Mr. Pinckney, if possible, to settle an accommodation with the directory.

To command the armies of the United States, president Adams, with the unanimous advice of the Senate, appointed George Washington. He consented, but with great reluctance, to accept the office, declaring, however, that he cordially approved the measures of the government.

No opportunity was presented of testing the courage and skill of the American troops. At sea, a desperate action was fought between the frigate Constellation, of 38 guns, commanded by commodore Truxton, and the French frigate L'Insurgente, of 40 guns. The latter, although of superior force, was captured. The same intrepid officer, in a subsequent action, compelled another French frigate of 50 guns, to strike her colors, but she afterwards escaped in the night.

The United States, in arms at home, and victorious on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy. The directory made overtures of peace. The president immediately appointed ministers, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly accredited, and in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

While this negotiation was in progress, the whole American people were overshadowed with gloom, by the sudden death of the Father of his country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of one day only, general Washington expired. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling.

Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of represen-

tatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the MAN first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed a letter of condolence to the president of the United States. "This event," they observe, "so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be particularly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who maketh darkness his pavilion.

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory.

"Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and of his example, *are their inheritance.*"

Agreeably to the report of the committee, and the unanimous resolves of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran Church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn, the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the union similar marks of affliction were exhibited. A whole bereaved people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic, funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

In 1800, Congress removed from Philadelphia to a place which had been previously selected; and public buildings were erected on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon, to which the name of Washington was given, and congress com-

menced its session for the first time at this place in November.

President Adams' first term was drawing nigh to a close, and the people were to give their votes for the next president.

The federalists supported Mr. Adams, and general Pinckney; the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr.

The strife of the two parties during the time of electioneering, was spirited, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr received a very small majority, and their votes were equal, each having 73. The house of representative was called to make a decision. After thirty five trials, Mr. Jefferson was chosen president, and Mr. Burr vice-president. At this period, the population amounted to 5,319,763, having increased about one million four hundred thousand, in ten years.

Mr Jefferson entered upon the duty of president, March 4th, 1801. Mr. Jefferson took a bold and decided stand, as may be seen by the following extract from his message:

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:—peace, commerce, and honest friendship, with all nations, entangling alliances with none: The support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestick concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies:—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad:—a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided:—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotisms:—a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them: the supremacy of the civil over the military authority:—economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened.

The honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith: encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its hand-maid: the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason:—freedom of religion: freedom of the press; and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus:—and trial by juries impartially selected."—"These principles," added Mr. Jefferson, "should be the creed of our political faith—and should we wander from them in moments of errour or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

In 1803, Ohio was admitted as an independent state into the union. It derived its name from the river Ohio, which sweeps the southern border of the state. Louisiana was purchased by the United States, in April, 1803, for the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

The Tripolitan cruisers continued to harass the vessels of the United States, and congress determined to act with greater vigor against them. Accordingly, a squadron was fitted out and the command given to commodore Preble. On arriving before Tripoli, captain Bainbridge, in the frigate Philadelphia, of 44 guns, was sent into the harbor to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immmediately covered with Tripolitan gun-boats, and captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. The officers were considered as prisoners of war; but the crew, according to the custom of Barbary, were treated as slaves.

At the capture of this frigate, the enemy rejoiced and exulted beyond measure. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur conceived the design of retaking or destroying her. Commodore Preble, applauding the spirit of the youthful hero, granted him permission to make the attempt. In February, 1804, he sailed from Syracuse, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, entered undiscovered the harbour of Tripoli, and advancing boldly took a station alongside the frigate. Perceiving the crew in consternation, Decatur sprang on board, his men followed, and with drawn swords rushed upon the enemy. The decks were soon cleared, some being killed, and others driven into the sea.

A heavy cannonade upon the frigate, from the batteries on shore and the corsairs near, was now commenced, and several vessels of war were seen approaching. She was set on fire and abandoned, none of the party being killed and but four wounded. Throughout all the piratical states, this brilliant exploit exalted the reputation of the American arms. The president, in reward of his address and bravery, promoted lieutenant Decatur to the rank of post-captain in the navy.

The Bashaw, who might well be compared to the toad which wished to swell itself to the size of the ox, reposed in fancied security. He cast a malignant glance at the little squadron in which Decatur was one of the distinguished leaders. He saw in the bay spreading before his city, his batteries, and his castles, a noble American frigate, (the Philadelphia,) and the pride of the American navy—upon which the "star-spangled banner" once triumphantly waved, now added to his naval force; manned by a double crew of Tripolitans, and with the Turkish

crescent waving on its mast. He saw its once gallant crew, miserable slaves in his own gloomy dungeons; and, in anticipation, feasted his cannibal appetite upon all the victims which the American squadron could add to his list of Christian slaves.

The American squadron obliged the Bashaw to smell their powder, and taste their lead so frequently, that he was obliged to offer favourable terms of peace, which were accepted, and the war in the Mediterranean ended.

In June, 1804, Colonel Burr challenged Mr. Hamilton to settle some trifling offence by a duel, in which the latter was killed.

This year Mr. Jefferson was re-elected president, and George Clinton vice-president; and their term of office commenced in March, 1805. This year Michigan became a government of the United States, and General Hall were appointed by Mr. Jefferson the first governor.

Burr, notwithstanding his brilliant talents, now sunk, for a time, into merited obscurity. His future conduct showed, however, that, while unobserved by his fellow citisens, he had not been idle. In the autumn of 1806, his movements in the western country attracted the notice of government. He had purchased and was building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend that river. His declared purpose was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but the character of the man, the nature of his preparations, and the incautious disclosures of his associates, led to the suspicion that his true object was either to gain possession of New-Orleans, and erect into a separate government the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, or to invade, from the territories of the United States, the rich Spanish province of Mexico.

From the first moment of suspicion, he was closely watched by the agents of the government. At Natchez, while on his way to New Orleans, he was cited to appear before the supreme court of the Mississippi Territory. But he had so enveloped his projects in secrecy, that sufficient evidence to convict him could not be produced, and he was discharged. Hearing, however, that several persons, suspected of being his accomplices, had been arrested at New Orleans and elsewhere, he fled in disguise from Natchez, was apprehended on the Tombigbee, and conveyed a prisoner to Richmond. Two indictments were found against him, one charging him with treason against the United States, the other with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain.

In August, 1807, he was tried, upon those indictments, before John Marshall, the chief justice of the United States.

Full evidence of his guilt not being exhibited, he was acquitted by the jury. The people, however, believed him guilty; and by their desertion and contempt, he was reduced to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. The ease with which his plans were defeated, demonstrated the strength of the government, and his fate will ever be an impressive warning to those who, in a free country, listen to the suggestions of criminal ambition.

In June, 1807, an event occurred, which for a time concentrated upon one of the several nations, the whole weight of popular indignation.

On the 22d of June, the Chesapeake weighed anchor and proceeded to sea. She passed the British ships Bellona and Melampus, lying in Lynnhaven bay, whose appearance was friendly. There were two other ships that lay off Cape Henry, one of which, the Leopard, Captain Humphreys, weighed anchor, and in a few hours came along side the Chesapeake.

A British officer immediately came on board, and demanded the deserters. To this, Captain Barron replied, that he did not know of any being there, and that his duty forbade him to allow of any muster of his crew, except by their own officers.

During this interview, Barron noticed some proceedings of a hostile nature on board the adverse ship, but he could not be persuaded that any thing but menace was intended by them. After the British officer departed, he gave orders to clear his gun deck, and after some time, he directed his men to their quarters, secretly, and without beat of drum: still, however, without any serious apprehensions of an attack.

Before these orders could be executed, the Leopard commenced a heavy fire. This fire unfortunately was very destructive. In about thirty minutes, the hull, rigging, and spars of the Chesapeake were greatly damaged, three men were killed and sixteen wounded; among the latter was the captain himself. Such was the previous disorder, that during this time, the utmost exertions were insufficient to prepare the ship for action, and the captain thought proper to strike his colours.

The British captain refused to accept the surrender of the Chesapeake, but took from her crew, Ware, Martin, and Strachan, the three men formerly demanded as deserters, and a fourth, John Wilson, claimed as a runaway from a merchant ship.

This insolent attack upon a national ship,—this wanton exercise of a claim derogatory to national honor,—aroused the spirit of the republic. The distinctions of party were forgotten, numerous meetings of the citizens were held, and all concurred

in the expression of a determination to support the government of their country in its efforts to obtain, whether by negotiation or war, satisfaction for this insulting outrage.

The president, by proclamation, prohibited all British ships of war from continuing in or entering the harbours of the United States. He sent instructions to the minister at London to demand satisfaction for the insult, and security against future aggression. He summoned congress to meet and decide what further measures should be adopted. The British government promptly disavowing the act of its officer, the hostile feelings which had been excited began to subside; but delaying to render satisfaction, and refusing to adopt adequate measures to prevent a continuance of aggression, they were not extinguished nor appeased.

On the 6th of November following, the emperor Napoleon issued his Berlin decree, which declared all the British isles in a state of blockade. This decree was in direct violation of the treaty between France and the United States, as well as of the law of nations.

On the 7th of January, 1807, the British government met this decree by an order in council, declaring "all vessels coasting from one port to another on the coast of France, or that of her allies, liable to seizure and condemnation."

On the 11th of November, Great Britain repeated her orders in council, by way of retaliation upon the French decrees, "declaring all nations at war with Great Britain, and all ports from which the British flag is excluded, to be under the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation, as if the same were in a state of blockade."

To retaliate upon Great Britain for her orders in council, the French emperor issued his Milan decree, declaring "all vessels denationalized, which shall have submitted to a search from a British ship, and every vessel a good prize, which shall sail to or from Great Britain, or any of her colonies or countries occupied by British troops," December 17th, 1807.

On the 22d, congress laid an indefinite embargo.

Thus balanced, America began to feel more immediately, the convulsions of Europe, and to find herself involved in the contest. One grand system of intrigue now pervaded all Christendom, and paved the way for the calamities that followed.

Mr. Jefferson being desirous of confirming the example of Washington, declined a re-election. James Madison was elected president, and George Clinton re-elected vice-president, March, 1809.

Great Britain continued to violate the laws of peace. She had ships of war stationed before the principal harbours of the

United States. American merchantmen were boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports as legal prizes.

Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate president, was fired upon by the British sloop of war Little Belt, of 18 guns; but the President being a superior force, the Little Belt was soon silenced with considerable loss.

Congress, in November 1811, passed a law to increase the regular army to 35 000 men; empowered the president to accept the services of volunteers, and to borrow eleven thousand dollars.

Congress continued to make preparations for war, yet still cherishing the hope, that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms. On the 20th of May, 1812, the Hornet arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favourable change. On the first of June, the question in congress was, whether they should continue to endure their wrongs, or resort to arms.

The British government had been told in plain terms, that if they continued to drag the American seamen from their ships, and rob the vessels of their goods, war would be inevitable.

Congress, after sitting a number of days with closed doors, declared war against Great Britain, on the 18th day of June, 1812; and on the following day, war was publickly proclaimed.

The president was authorised to receive 50,000 volunteers, and to call out one hundred thousand militia. Governor Hull, at the head of about two thousand men, was on his march to Detroit, with a view of putting an end to the Indian hostilities, when he received information of the declaration of war. This little army marched to Spring Wells, within a few miles of Detroit, July fifth, there they had some small skirmishes with the Indians, but soon compelled them to retire; and Hull proceeded without molestation to Sandwich. Here he was met by a superior force, under the command of General Brock. General Hull hastened back to Detroit.

On the 14th, the British took a position opposite to Detroit, and erected batteries. The next day, they began a cannonade upon the American fortification, which was returned with precision and effect. On the 16th, the enemy crossed the river, taking post about three miles above the town, and advanced towards the fort in close columns, twelve deep. The hearts of our soldiers now beat high at their approach, expecting to regain their credit. But who can describe the chagrin and mortification which took possession of these troops.

At the very moment the destruction of the enemy was certain,—orders were given not to fire. The troops were ordered to stack their arms, and to the astonishment of all, a white flag.

in token of submission, was suspended from the walls. Words are wanting to express the feelings of the Americans on this occasion; they considered themselves basely betrayed, in thus surrendering to an inferior force, without firing, a gun, when they were firmly convinced the enemy were in their power. General Hull was exchanged for thirty British prisoners, brought before a court martial, charged with treason, cowardice, and unofficer like conduct; was sentenced to death. The sentence was remitted by the president, but his name was ordered to be struck from the rolls of the army. While the nation was overspread with gloom in consequence of this disaster, they were suddenly consoled in the most pleasing manner. A new and glorious era burst upon our country, and upon the world.

At the moment of the declaration of war, a squadron under commodore Rogers, had rendezvoused under the order of the government, off Sandy Hook, consisting of the frigates President, Congress, United States, and the brig Hornet. On the 21st of June they put to sea, in pursuit of a British squadron, which had sailed as the convoy of the West India fleet, the preceding month. While thus engaged, the British frigate Belvidera was discovered, to which they instantly gave chase. The chase was continued from early in the morning until past four in the afternoon, when the President, outsailing the other vessels, had come within gun shot, she opened a fire with her bow guns, intending to cripple the Belvidera, which returned it with her stern chasers. The firing was kept up for ten minutes, when one of the guns of the President burst, killed and wounded sixteen men, and fractured the leg of the commodore. By this accident, and the explosion of the passing box, the decks were so much shattered, as to render the guns on that side useless. The ship was then put about, and a broadside fired, but without the desired effect, though considerable injury was done the Belvidera. This vessel having thrown overboard every thing she could spare, now gained ground. The chase was continued until eleven o'clock at night, before it was deemed hopeless. The squadron then continued in pursuit of the convoy, which it did not give over until within sight of the British channel: then stood for the island of Maderia, and thence passing the Azores, stood for Newfoundland, and thence by Cape Sable, arrived at Boston the 30th of August, having made prize of several British vessels; but owing to the haziness of the weather, they were less successful than might have been expected.

The frigate Essex went to sea from New York, on the third of July; the Constitution sailed from the Chesapeake on the twelfth; the brigs Nautilus, and Vixen, were at the same time

cruising off the coast; the sloop of war Wasp was at sea on her return from France.

The Constitution, Capt. Hull, had sailed from Annapolis on the 5th of July. On the morning of the 17th, off Egg Harbour, she was chased by a ship of the line, the Africa, and the frigates Shannon, Guerriere, Belvidera, and Æolus. These vessels were approaching rapidly, with a fine breeze, while it was nearly a calm about the Constitution. At sunrise the next morning, escape from the enemy was almost hopeless, as they were then within five miles. The Constitution was therefore cleared for action, determined to make a desperate resistance. The enemy still drawing near, captain Hull resolved to make another effort to escape. Boats were sent ahead, with anchors for the purpose of warping, there prevailing almost a calm. The others finding the Constitution gaining upon them, resorted to the same expedient. The chase continued in this manner for two days, partly sailing with light breezes, and partly warping, until the 20th, when the squadron was left entirely out of sight. This escape from so great a disparity of force, was considered as deserving a high rank in naval exploits, and was much admired at the time, as evincing superior nautical skill. The advantage to the British in this chase, was considerable, when we reflect that their foremost vessel had the assistance of all the boats of the squadron, for the purpose of towing. The superiority of captain Hull, was that of seamanship alone. This superiority was sometime afterwards proved in a most remarkable manner: while naval history lasts it will not be forgotten.

The Constitution again put to sea, on the second of September. On the nineteenth, a vessel hove in sight, and a chase instantly commenced. It was soon discovered to be the Guerriere, one of the best frigates in the British navy; and which seemed not averse from the rencontre, as she backed her main topsail, waiting for the Constitution to come down. This was a most desirable occurrence to our brave tars, as this frigate had for some time been in search of an American frigate, having given a formal challenge to all our vessels of the same class. She had at one of her mast heads a flag, on which her name was inscribed in large characters, by way of gasconade, and on another, the words, "not the Little Belt," in allusion to the broadsides which the President had given that vessel, before the war. The Guerriere had looked into several of our ports, and affected to be exceedingly anxious to earn the first laurel from the new enemy. The Constitution being made ready for action, now bore down, her crew giving three cheers. At first it was the intention of captain Hull, to bring her to close action immediately; but on coming within gun-shot, she gave a broadside and filled away, then wore, giving a broadside on the

other tack, but without effect. They now continued wearing, and manœuvring, on both sides, for three quarters of an hour, the Guerriere attempting to take a raking position: but failing in this, she bore up, under her topsail and jib. The Constitution perceiving this made sail to come up with her. Captain Hull, with admirable coolness, received the enemy's fire, without returning it. The enemy, mistaking this conduct on the part of the American commander, for want of skill, continued to pour out his broadsides with a view to cripple his antagonist. From the Constitution, not a gun had been fired. Already had an officer twice come on deck, with information that several of the men had been killed at their guns. The gallant crew though burning with impatience, silently awaited the orders of their commander. The moment so long looked for, at last arrived. Sailing master Aylwin, having seconded the views of the captain, with admirable skill, in bringing the vessel exactly to the station intended, orders were given at five minutes before five P. M. to fire broadside after broadside, in quick succession. The crew instantly discovered the whole plan, and entered into it, with all the spirit the circumstance was calculated to inspire. Never was any firing so dreadful. For fifteen minutes the vivid lightning of the Constitution's guns continued one blaze, and their thunder roared with scarce an intermission. The enemy's mizen mast had gone by the board, and he stood exposed to a raking fire, which swept his decks. The Guerriere had now become unmanageable; her hull, rigging and sails dreadfully torn; when the Constitution attempted to lay her on board. At this moment lieutenant Bush, in attempting to throw his marines on board, was killed by a musket ball, and the enemy shot ahead, but could not be brought before the wind. A raking fire now continued for fifteen minutes longer, when his mainmast and foremast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this, the firing ceased, and at twenty five minutes past five she surrendered. "In thirty minutes," says captain Hull, "after we got fairly along side of the enemy, she surrendered and had not a spar standing, and her hull, above and below water, so shattered that a few more broadsides must have carried her down." The Guerriere was so much damaged, as to render it impossible to bring her in; she was therefore set fire to the next day, and blown up. The damage sustained by the Constitution, was comparatively of so little consequence, that she actually made ready for action, when a vessel appeared in sight the next day. The loss on board the Guerriere was fifteen killed and sixty three wounded; on the side of the Constitution seven killed and seven wounded. It is pleasing to observe, that even the British commander, on this occasion, bore testimony to the humanity and generosity, with which he

was treated by the victors. The American frigate was somewhat superior in force, by a few guns, but this difference bore no comparison to the disparity of the conflict. The Guerriere was thought to be a match for any vessel of her class, and had been ranked amongst the largest in the British navy. The Constitution arrived at Boston on the twenty eighth of August, having captured several merchant vessels.

On the 7th of September, Commodore Porter, of the Essex, fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, and at night cut out a brig with a hundred and fifty soldiers on board, which was ransomed for 14000 dollars. On the 13th of August, the Essex fell in with the Alert, sloop of war, and captured her in eight minutes.

On the 8th of October, a squadron, consisting of the President, the United States, Congress, and the Argus, sailed from Boston on a cruise. On the 13th, the United States and Argus, parted from the rest in a gale of wind. A few days afterwards, the President and Congress had the good fortune to capture the British packet Swallow, with 200,000 dollars on board, and on the 30th of December arrived at Boston, after a very successful cruise.

The Argus was not less fortunate; after parting from the squadron, she cruised in every direction, between the continent and the West Indies, and after being out ninety six days, she returned to New York, with prizes to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars. She made various hairbreadth escapes: at one time she was chased, by a British squadron for three days, and several times almost surrounded; she was one moment within pistol shot of a seventy four and yet in the midst of all this peril, she actually captured and manned one of her prizes.

The United States, commanded by that distinguished officer commodore Decatur, soon after her separation from the squadron, had the good fortune to add another victory to our Naval Chronicle, not less glorious than that of the Constitution. On the 25th of October, off the Western Islands, she fell in with the Macedonian, captain Carden, a frigate of the largest class, carrying 49 guns and 300 men. The Macedonian, being to windward, she had it in her power to choose her distance, and at no time were they nearer than musket shot; from this circumstance, and the prevalence of a heavy sea, the action lasted nearly two hours. The superiority of the American gunnery, in this action, was very remarkable, both for its greater rapidity and effect. From the continued blaze of her guns, the United States was, at one moment, thought by her antagonist to be on fire; a mistake of very short duration. On board the Macedonian there were 36 killed and 68 wounded. She lost

her mainmast, her main-topmast, and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull. The United States suffered so little, that a return to port was not necessary : she had only five killed, and seven wounded. Among the killed were lieutenant Funk, of whom the commodore spoke in the highest terms. Lieutenant Allen was on this occasion highly applauded. The commodore arrived at New York on the 4th of December, with his prize. Commodore Decatur, already a universal favorite, experienced the same demonstrations of gratitude, as were shown to captain Hull; nor was there denied him that new species of praise, which the generous conduct of our heroic seamen has uniformly drawn forth, the praise of the enemy ; all the private property belonging to the men and officers on board the Macedonian, was restored to the captured, with the most rigid exactitude ; and their treatment was the most polite and humane.

An act of generosity and benevolence on the part of our brave tars, of the victorious frigate, deserves to be honourably recorded. The carpenter, who was unfortunately killed in the conflict with the Macedonian, had left three small children to the care of a worthless mother. When the circumstance became known to the brave seamen, they instantly made a contribution amongst themselves, to the amount of eight hundred dollars, and placed it in safe hands, to be appropriated to the education and maintenance of the unhappy orphans.

The feelings of the nation had scarce time to subside, when the welcome news of another victory was received ; a victory over an enemy most decidedly superior in force, and under circumstances the most favourable to him. This was the capture of the brig Frolick, of 22 guns, by the sloop of war Wasp. Captain Jones had returned from France, two weeks after the declaration of war, and on the 13th of October again put to sea. On the 16th he experienced a heavy gale, in which the Wasp lost her jib boom and two men. On the evening of the following day, the Wasp found herself near five strange sail, and as two of them appeared to be ships of war, it was thought proper to keep at a distance. At day-light on Sunday morning, they were discovered to be six merchant ships, from Honduras to England, under strong convoy of a brig and two ships, armed with sixteen guns each. The brig which proved to be the Frolick, capt. Whinyates, dropped behind, while the others made sail. The Wasp, being prepared for action, at 32 minutes past 11 o'clock, came down to the windward in handsome style, when the action was begun by the enemy's cannon and musketry. This was returned and approaching still nearer the enemy brought her to close action. In five minutes the maintopmast of the Wasp was shot away, and falling down with the maintopsail yard across the larboard fore and fore-

topsail, rendered her head yards unmanageable during the rest of the action. In two minutes more her gaft and mizen topgallant mast were shot away. The sea being exceedingly rough, the muzzles of the Wasp's guns were sometimes under water. The English fired as their vessel rose, so that their shot was either thrown away, or touched the rigging of the Americans; the Wasp, on the contrary, fired as she sunk: and every time struck the hull of her antagonist. The Wasp now shot ahead, raked her, and then resumed her position. The Frolick's fire had evidently slackened, and the Wasp, gradually neared her, until the last broadside, they touched her side with their rammers. It was determined to lay her by the board. The jib-boom of the Frolick came in between the main and mizen mast rigging of the Wasp, and after giving a raking fire, which swept the whole deck, they resolved to board.. Lieutenant Biddle sprang on the rigging of the enemy's bowsprit, where he was at first somewhat entangled, and midshipman Barker, in his impatience to be on board, caught hold of Biddle's coat, and fell back on the deck, but in a moment sprang up and leaped on the bowsprit, where he found one Lang and another seaman. His surprise can scarcely be imagined, when he found no person on deck, except three officers and the seaman at the wheel. The deck was slippery with blood, and presented a scene of havock and ruin, such as has been seldom witnessed. As he advanced the officers threw down their swords in submission. The colours were still flying, there being no seamen left to pull them down. Lieutenant Biddle leaped into the rigging, and hauled them down with his own hands. Thus, in forty-three minutes, comp'ete possession was taken of the Frolick, after one of the most bloody conflicts any where recorded in naval history. The condition of this unfortunate vessel, was inexpressibly shocking. The birth deck was crowded with the dead, the dying and the wounded; and the masts, which soon after fell, covering the dead and every thing on deck, leaving her a most melancholy wreck. Captain Jones sent on board his surgeon, and humanely exerted himself in their relief, to the utmost of his power. The loss on board the Frolick was thirty killed and fifty wounded; on board the Wasp five killed and five slightly wounded. This was certainly the most decisive action fought during the war. The Wasp and Frolick were both captured that very day by a British seventy-four, the Poictiers, captain Beresford.

On the fourth of March, 1813, Mr. Madison entered upon the second term of his office, Mr. George Clinton was elected vice president, but soon after died, and was succeeded by Elbridge Gerry.

So great was the desire of the citizens of the western country to regain possession of the territory of Michigan, that, in order to effect it, general Harrison resolved to undertake a winter campaign. General Winchester, with a portion of the western army, proceeded in advance to Frenchtown, a village on the river Raisin, not far from Detroit. A British party stationed in the village was attacked, routed, and entirely dispersed.

The Americans encamped near the field of battle, a part of them being protected by close garden pickets. Although near an enemy's post, but litttle precaution was taken to prevent a surprize. Early in the morning of the 22d of January, they were attacked by a large force of British and Indians, the former commanded by colonel Procter, the latter by the chiefs Roundhead and Splitlog. The troops in the open field were thrown into disorder. General Winchester, and other officers, made an ineffectual attempt to rally them. They fled, but while attempting to escape were mostly killed by the Indians. The general and colonel Lewis were made prisoners.

The troops behind the pickets maintained the contest with undaunted bravery. At length colonel Proctor assured general Winchester, that if the remainder of the Americans would immediately surrender, they should be protected from massacre; but otherwise he would set fire to the village, and would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages. Intimidated by this threat, general Winchester sent an order to the troops to surrender, which they obeyed.

Colonel Procter, leaving the wounded without a guard, marched back immediately to Malden. The Indians accompanied them a few miles, but returned early the next morning. Deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed and scalped in the streets. The buildings were set on fire. Some who attempted to escape were forced back into the flames. Others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery should not fall upon the perpetrators alone. It must rest equally upon those who instigated them to hostility, by whose side they fought, who were able and were bound by a solemn engagement to restrain them.

The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rapids of the Miami, where he erected a fort, which he called fort Meigs, in honour of the governor of Ohio. On the first of May, it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by colonel Procter.

Five days afterwards, general Clay, at the head of 1200 Kentuckians, made an attempt to raise the siege. Dividing his force into several parties, and making an impetuous onset, he drove the besiegers from their works. His troops supposing the victory complete and disregarding the orders of their commander, dispersed into the woods. The enemy, returning from their flight, obtained an easy victory. Of the Americans, two or three hundred escaped into the fort; about three hundred were killed or made prisoners; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements. The enemy sustained considerable loss.

The fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented. On the 8th of May, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief, Tecumseh they deserted their allies. On the 9th the enemy, despairing of success, made a precipitate retreat. General Harrison, leaving general Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements, but in this quarter active operations were not resumed until a squadron had been built and prepared for action on lake Erie.

At Sackett's Harbor, on the northern frontier, a body of troops had been assembled under the command of general Dearborn, and great exertions were made, by commodore Chauncey, to build and equip a squadron, on lake Ontario, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the enemy. By the 25th of April, the naval preparations were so far completed that the general, and 1700 troops, were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada.

On the 27th, an advanced party, led by brigadier general Pike, who was born in a camp and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed, at the water's edge, by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the enemy were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the enemy's magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber.

Numbers were killed, the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but recovering from the shock, again pressed forward and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners. Of the Americans, three hundred and twenty were killed and wounded, and nearly all of them by the explosion of the magazine. The flag which waved over the fort was carried to the dying Pike; at his desire, it was placed un-

der his head, when, with the smile of triumph on his lips he expired.

The object of the expedition attained, the squadron and troops returned to Sackett's Harbor, whence, the wounded and prisoners being landed and other troops taken on board, it sailed to Fort George, at the head of the Lake. After a warm engagement, the enemy abandoned, and the Americans entered the fort. The fugitives retired to the heights, at the head of Burlington bay. On their retreat, they were joined by a detachment from fort Erie and Chippeway. Two brigades, under generals Chandler and Winder, were despatched in pursuit. On the evening of the 5th of June, they encamped at Stoney Creek, in the vicinity of the enemy, who considering their situation desperate, turned upon their pursuers and attacked them in the night.

The Americans received them with coolness; but such was the darkness, that general Chandler, intending to place himself at the head of his artillery, threw himself into the midst of a British party. A few minutes afterwards, the same mistake was committed by general Winder. Satisfied with the capture of these officers, and a few other prisoners, the enemy made a precipitate retreat. The American troops returned to fort George. The misfortune was soon followed by another. Lieutenant colonel Boerstler, having been sent, with five hundred men, to disperse a body of the enemy collected at the Beaver Dams, was surrounded, and the whole detachment made prisoners.

While the greater part of the American army was thus employed in Canada, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's Harbor. On the 27th of May, their squadron appeared before the town. Alarm guns instantly assembled the citizens of the neighborhood. General Brown, of the New York militia, commanded in chief, his whole force amounting to about one thousand men. By his orders, a slight breast work was hastily thrown up, at the only place where the enemy could land. Behind this, he placed the militia, the regulars under colonel Backus forming a second line.

On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron. They advanced toward the breastwork. The militia, seized with a sudden panic, fled in confusion. Colonel Mills, in a vain attempt to rally them, was mortally wounded. The regulars, after a spirited resistance, were compelled to retire towards the town, but in their retreat they took possession of the houses on the road. From these coverts they poured so destructive a fire upon the British column, that it halted and fell back. General Brown, by a stratagem, converted this slight check into a precipitate flight. Collecting the

panic struck militia, he directed their course along a road, which, while it led from the village, appeared to the British commander to lead to the place of landing. Perceiving them marching with great speed, he supposed that their object was to cut off his retreat, and re-embarked so hastily as to leave behind most of his wounded. General Brown, in recompense for his services, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

Meanwhile, upon the sea coast, a distressing and predatory war was carried on, by a large detatchments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. The inhabitants of Lewiston, in the state of Delaware, having refused to sell provisions to the enemy, the village was bombarded and several attempts were made to land, but they were defeated by the militia.

On the fourth of February, a squadron consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels, made its appearance in the Chesapeake, apparently standing for Hampton Roads. The alarm was immediately caught at Norfolk, and the militia called in from the upper part of the state. No attempt, however, was made upon the town, the enemy contenting himself with destroying the smaller vessels employed in the navigation of the bay, and effectively blockading its waters. About the same time, another squadron, under the command of commodore Beresford, appeared in the Delaware, consisting of the Poictiers, the Belvidera, and some other vessels, which in the same manner destroyed a number of small trading vessels, and attempted several times to land some of their men, who were as often repulsed by the militia, hastily collected. On the tenth of April, sir John Beresford made a demand on the people of the village of Lewistown, for a supply of provisions, which was spiritedly refused by colonel Davis, commanding at that place. Captain Byron, of the Belvidera, was ordered to move near the village and bombard it, until the demand should be complied with. This was obeyed, but without effect; after a cannonade of twenty hours, they were unable to make any impression on the place. Their fire had been returned from some batteries, hastily thrown up on the bank, with considerable effect. On the tenth of May, the same squadron sent out their barges in the neighbourhood of Lewistown, to procure water. Major George Hunter was detached by colonel Davis, with one hundred and fifty men, to oppose their landing, which the major did with so much gallantry, that he compelled them to hasten to their shipping. The squadron soon after returned to Bermuda, where sir J. Borlace Warren, who commanded on this station, was engaged in fitting out a more considerable armament, for the attack of our sea-coast during the summer.

Soon after the departure of the squadron, the Spartan, and some other frigates entered the Delaware. One of their vessels, the Martin, was discovered on the twenty ninth of July, slightly grounded on the outer edge of Crow's shoals. A detachment of the gunboat flotilla immediately moved, and anchoring in a line about three quarters of a mile from the sloop, opened a destructive fire upon her. The Junon frigate soon after came off to her relief; a cannonade was kept up during an hour between the gunboats and these two vessels, in which the latter suffered great injury. Finding it impossible to drive off this musqueto fleet, they manned their launches, tenders, and cutters, to cut off the gunboats at the extremity of the line. No. 121, commanded by sailing master Head, was unfortunately taken, after a desperate resistance against eight times her number. The British soon after made sail, the Martin having been extricated from her situation.

Scenes of a different kind were, in the meanwhile, acting in the Chesapeake. The squadron, which returned in February, still continued to carry on a predatory war along the shores and inlets. It was here, that one Cockburn, by some means, an admiral in the service of the king of England, exhibited the first of those exploits, for which he afterwards became so highly celebrated; and of which he may justly claim to be the originator. At first they were directed against the detached farm houses and seats of private gentlemen, unprepared for, and incapable of defence; these were robbed, and the owners treated in the rudest munner. The cattle which could not be carried away, were doomed to wanton destruction; the slaves were armed against their owners, and persuaded to follow the example of their new friends, to attack their master's defenceless families, and to engage in pillaging them. It was impossible to station a force at each farmhouse, to repel these miserable and disgraceful incursions; yet, in several instances, Cockburn and his ruffians were bravely repelled by a collection of the neighbours without authority, and under no leader. The spirited citizens of Maryland formed bodies of cavalry, which were stationed at intervals along the shore, to be drawn out at a moment's warning, for the purpose of repelling the sudden inroads of the enemy. Cockburn took possession of several islands in the bay, particularly Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar islands, whence he could seize the opportunity of making a descent upon the neighbouring shores, when the inhabitants happened to be off their guard.

Encouraged by his success against the farmers, and his rapacity increasing by the booty which he had already obtained, Cockburn now resolved to undertake something of a more bold and adventurous character, in which his thirst for plunder, and

his love of mischief, might be gratified in a higher degree. He therefore directed his attention to the unprotected villages and hamlets along the bay; carefully avoiding the larger towns, the plundering of which might be attended with some danger. The first of these exploits was against the village of Frenchtown, containing six dwelling houses, two large store houses, and several stables. It is important, however, as a place of deposite on the line of packets and stages from Philadelphia to the city of Baltimore, and Cockburn rightly conjectured that here there might be private property to a considerable amount. He accordingly set out on this expedition, from his ship, the Marlborough, in barges, with five hundred marines; a sufficient number to have carried the town on their backs. Some show of resistance was made by a small party of militia collected from Elkton, but which moved off as the admiral approached. The storehouses were destroyed, together with the goods they were unable to carry off, to an immense amount. Amongst other objects of wanton destruction, was an elegant drop-curtain, intended for the theatres of the cities before mentioned. The brand was applied to some of the private dwelling houses, and to several vessels lying at the wharf; after achieving this glorious victory, the admiral, fearing the approach of the militia, hastily retired to his ship.

The next exploit of the admiral, was of still greater importance. The town of Havre de Grace is situated on the Susquehanna, about two miles from the head of the bay, and is a neat village, containing twenty or thirty houses. An attack on this place was the next object which entered into the plan of the admiral's operations. Accordingly on the third of May, before day light, his approach was announced by a few cannon shot, and the firing of rockets. The inhabitants, roused from their sleep, leaped up in the greatest consternation, and the more courageous repaired to the beach, where a few small pieces of artillery had been planted on a kind of battery for the purpose of defence against the smaller watering or plundering parties of the enemy. After firing a few shots, with the exception of an old citizen of the place, of the name of O'Neill, they all fled on the approach of the barges, abandoning the village to the mercy of Cockburn. O'Neill alone continued to fight, loading a piece of artillery, and firing it himself, until by recoiling it ran over his thigh and wounded him severely. He then armed himself with a musket, and limping away, still kept up a retreating fight with the advancing column of the British, who had by this time landed and formed; after which he moved off to join his five or six comrades, whom he attempted in vain to rally.

The ocean, in the mean time, had been the theatre of sanguinary conflicts, in which the victors gained untarnished laurels. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of war Hornet, discovering, in the neutral port of San Salvador, a British sloop of war of superior force, challenged her commander to meet him at sea. The challenge being declined, Captain Lawrence blockaded the fort until forced by a ship of the line to retire.

Soon after, on the 23d of February, the Hornet met the British brig Peacock, of about equal force. A fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes, the Peacock struck her colours, displaying, at the same time a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished, and the same strength which had been exerted to conquer was now exerted to save. Their efforts were but partially successful. She sunk before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen and three brave and generous Americans. In the battle, the loss of the Hornet was but one killed and two wounded; that of the Peacock was never ascertained.

On his return to the United States, captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then in the harbor of Boston. For several weeks, the British frigate Shannon, of equal force but having a selected crew, had been cruising before the port; and captain Broke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet, in single combat, an American frgate. Inflamed by this challenge, captain Lawrence, although his crew was just enlisted, and his officers were strangers to him and to each other, set sail, on the first of June, in pursuit of the Shannon.

Towards evening of the same day, they met, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing master of the Chesapeake was killed, captain Lawrence and three Lieutenants were severely wounded, her rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the Shannon, her chest of arms blew up, captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound and was carried below; at this instant, the position of the ships being favorable, captain Broke, at the head of his marines, gallantly boarded the Chesapeake, when every officer who could take command being killed or wounded, resistance ceased, and the American flag was struck by the enemy.

That fortune favoured the Shannon cannot be doubted. That the event would have been the same had fortune favoured neither, is rendered probable by the astonishing effect of her fire. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride and in the journals of the day, many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. But nothing could allay their grief at the

fall of the youthful and intrepid Lawrence. His previous victory and magnanimous conduct had rendered him the favourite of the nation, and he was lamented with sorrow, deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colors should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." When the fate of the ship was decided, his proud spirit was broken. He became delirious from excess of mental and bodily suffering. Whenever able to speak, he would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!" an expression consecrated by his countrymen; and he uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

This victory was not achieved without loss. Of the crew of the Shannon, twenty four were killed and fifty six wounded. Of that of the Chesapeake, forty eight were killed and nearly one hundred wounded. Great was the exultation of the enemy. Victories over the frigates of other nations were occurrences too common to excite emotion; but the capture of an American frigate was considered a glorious epoch in the naval history of Great Britain. The honors and rewards bestowed upon captain Broke were such as had never before been received but by the conquerer of a squadron. These demonstrations of triumph were inadvertent confessions of American superiority; and were to the vanquished themselves, sources of triumph and consolation.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican. The latter was of superior force, and was victorious. Soon after, the American brig Enterprise, commanded by lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig Boxer, commanded by captain Blyth. These vessels were of equal force, but the greater effect of the fire of the Enterprise furnished to the Americans another proof of the superior skill of their seaman. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side, in Portland.

Commodore Porter had been cruising in the Pacific for nearly a year, in the course of which he had captured several British armed whale ships. Some of these were equipped as American cruisers and store ships; and the Atlantic, now called the Essex Junior, of twenty guns and sixty men, was assigned to Lieut. Downes. The prizes which were to be laid up, were convoyed by this officer to Valparaiso. On his return, he brought intelligence to Commodore Porter that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate, and two sloops of war, and a store ship of twenty guns, had sailed in quest of the Essex. The commodore took measures, immediately, to repair his vessel, which, having accomplished, on the 12th of December, 1813, he sailed for Valparaiso, in company with the Essex Junior.

"It was not long after the arrival of Commodore Porter at Valparaiso, when Commodore Hillyar appeared there in the Phœbe frigate, accompanied by the Cherub sloop of war. These vessels had been equipped for the purpose of meeting the Essex, with picked crews, in prime order, and hoisted flags bearing the motto, "God and our country, British sailors' best rights; *traitors offend them.*" This was in allusion to Porter's celebrated motto, "Free trade and sailors' rights;" he now hoisted at his mizzen, "God, our country, and liberty: tyrants offend them." On entering the harbour, the British commodore fell foul of the Essex, in such a situation as to be placed completely in the power of the latter; the forbearance of Commodore Porter was acknowledged by the English commander, and he passed his word and honour to observe the same regard to the neutrality of the port.

"The British vessels soon after stood out, and cruised off the port about six weeks, rigorously blockading the Essex. Their united force amounted to eighty one guns and about five hundred men, about double that of the Essex; but the circumstance of this force being divided in two ships, rendered the disparity still greater; and was by no means counterbalanced by the Essex Junior. Commodore Porter being prevented by this great disparity of force, from engaging, made repeated attempts to draw the Phœbe into action singly, either by manœuvreing or sending formal challenges; but Commodore Hillyar carefully avoided the coming to action alone. The American commander, hearing that an additional British force was on its way, and having discovered that his vessel could outsail those of the British, determined to sail out, and, while the enemy was in chase, enable the Essex Junior to escape to a place of rendezvous previously appointed.

"On the twenty-eighth of March, the wind coming on to blow fresh from the southward; the Essex parted her starboard cable, and dragging her larboard anchor to sea. Not a moment was lost in getting sail on the ship, as it was determined to seize this moment to escape. In endeavouring to pass to the windward of the enemy, a squall struck the American vessel, just as she was doubling the point, which carried away her main-top-mast; both ships immediately gave chase, and being unable to escape in his crippled state, the commodore endeavoured to put back into the harbour; but finding this impracticable, he ran into a small bay, and anchored within pistol shot of the shore: where, from a supposition that the enemy would continue to respect the neutrality of the port, he thought himself secure. He soon found, however, by the manner in which they approached, that he was mistaken. With all possible despatch therefore, he prepared his ship for action, and endeavoured to

get a spring on his cable, which he could not accomplish before the enemy commenced the attack, at fifty-four minutes past three.

At first the Phœbe placed herself on his stern, and the Cherub on his larboard bow; but the latter soon finding herself exposed to a hot fire, changed her position, and with her consort, kept up a raking fire under his stern. The American, being unable to bring his broad side to bear on the enemy, his spring cables having been three times shot away, was obliged, therefore, to rely for defence against this tremendous attack, on three long twelve pounders, which he ran out of the stern ports, which were worked with such bravery and skill, as in half an hour to do so much injury to the enemy, as to compel them to haul off and repair.

It was evident that Commodore Hillyar meant to risk nothing from the daring courage of the Americans; all his manœuvres were deliberate and wary; his antagonist was in his power, and his only concern was to succeed with as little loss to himself as possible. The situation of the Essex was most vexatious to our brave countrymen; many of whom were already killed and wounded, and from the crippled state of their ship, they were unable to bring her guns to bear upon the enemy. Her gallant crew were not disheartened; aroused to desperation, they expressed their defiance to the enemy, and their determination to hold out to the last.

The enemy having repaired, now placed himself, with both ships on the starboard quarter of the Essex, where none of her guns could be brought to bear; the commodore saw no hope but in getting under way; the flying jib was the only sail he could set; this he caused to be hoisted, cut his cable, and ran down on both ships, with the intention of laying the Phœbe on board. For a short time he was enabled to close with the enemy, and the firing was tremendous; the decks of the Essex were strewed with dead, and her cockpit filled with the wounded; she had been several times on fire, and was, in fact, a perfect wreck. At this moment, a feeble hope arose, that she might still be saved, in consequence of the Cherub being compelled to haul off on account of her crippled state; she, however, kept up her fire at a distance, with her long guns. The Essex was unable, however, to take advantage of the circumstance, as the Phœbe edged off, and also kept up, at a distance, a destructive fire; the former being totally bereft of her sails, could not bring her to close quarters.

Commodore Porter finding the greater part of his crew disabled, at last gave up all hope, and attempted to run his vessel on shore, the wind at that moment favouring his design; but it suddenly changed, drove her close upon the Phœbe, exposing

her to a raking fire. The ship was totally unmanageable, but as she drifted with her head to the enemy, Commodore Porter again seized a faint hope of being able to board. At this moment Lieutenant Downes came on board, to receive orders, expecting that his commander would soon be a prisoner. His services could be of no avail in the present deplorable state of the Essex, and finding from the enemy's putting up his helm, that the last attempt at boarding would not succeed, Downes was directed to repair to his ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her, in case of an attack.

The slaughter on board the Essex now became horrible, the enemy continuing to rake her while she was unable to bring a single gun to bear. Still her commander refused to yield while a ray of hope appeared. Every expedient, that a fertile and inventive genius could suggest, was resorted to, in the forlorn hope, that he might be able, by some lucky chance, to escape from the grasp of the foe. A hawser was bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor cut from the bows, to bring the ship's head around. This succeeded; the broadside of the Essex was again brought to bear; and as the enemy was much crippled, and unable to hold his own, the commodore thought she might drift out of gunshot, before he discovered that the Essex had anchored; but alas! this last expedient failed; the hawser parted, and with it went the last lingering hope of the Essex.

At this moment her situation was awful beyond description. She was on fire both before and aft, the flames were bursting up her hatchway, a quantity of powder exploded below, and word was given that fire was near her magazine. Thus surrounded by horrors, without any chance of saving his ship, he turned his attention to the saving as many of his gallant companions as he could; the distance to the shore not exceeding three quarters of a mile, he hoped that many of them would save themselves before the ship blew up. His boats being cut up, they could only hope to escape by swimming; by some this was effected, but the greater part of his generous crew resolved to stay by the ship, and share the fate of their commander.

They now laboured to extinguish the flames, and succeeded; after this they again repaired to their guns, but their strength had become so much exhausted, that this effort was in vain. Commodore Porter summoned a consultation of the officers of the divisions, when to his astonishment only one acting lieutenant Stephen Decatur M'Night, appeared. The accounts from every part of the ship were deplorable indeed; she was in imminent danger of sinking, and so crowded with the wounded, that even her birthdeck could hold no more, and several were killed under the surgeon's hands. In the mean time the enemy, at a secure distance, continued his fire; the water having be-

come smooth, he struck the hull of the Essex at every shot. At last, despairing of saving his ship, the commodore was compelled, at twenty minutes past six, to give the painful orders to strike the colours. The enemy, probably not seeing that this had taken place, continued to fire for ten minutes after, and Porter was about to give orders that the colours should again be hoisted, under a belief that the enemy intended to give no quarters, when the firing ceased. The loss on board the Essex was fifty-eight killed, thirty-nine wounded severely, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one missing. The loss on board the British vessels was five killed and ten wounded; but they were both much cut up in their hulls and rigging; the Phœbe could scarcely be kept afloat until she anchored in the port of Valparaiso next morning.

Commodore Porter was paroled, and permitted to return to the United States in the Essex Junior, which was converted into a cartel for the purpose. On arriving off the port of New York, the vessel was detained by the Saturn razee, and to the disgrace of the British navy, already dishonoured by the base attack upon this gallant officer, he was compelled to give up his parole, and declare himself a prisoner of war, and, as such, he informed the British officer that he would attempt his escape. In consequence of this threat, the Essex Junior was ordered to remain under the lee of the Saturn; but the next morning Commodore Porter put off in his boat, though thirty miles from shore, and notwithstanding the pursuit by those of the Saturn, arrived safely in New-York."*

In the spring of 1814, Commodore Barney took the command of a small flotilla of gunboats to protect the inlets, and small rivers, that fall into the Chesapeake bay. About the 1st of June, the enemy entered the Chesapeake bay and renewed their ravages, with greater severity than they done the last year. Sharp and frequent rencounters took place, upon the water and upon the land; but the enemy succeeded in laying waste the country, and carrying off the negroes, through the months of June and July.

About the middle of August, the British entered the Chesapeake with a fleet of about sixty sail, including transports, under Admiral Cockburn, and landed about six thousand men at Benedict, on the Patuxent, under the command of general Ross.

On the 22d, Gen. Ross reached the Wood-yard, (so called) twelve miles from Washington, where commodore Barney caused a large flotilla of gun-boats to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

* Brackenridge.

On the 23d, General Ross reached Bladensburgh, six miles from Washington, where he dispersed the militia, after a short resistance, and advanced to the city. Commodore Barney had assembled a small force in defence of the capital, with several eighteen pounders, and made a stand; but he was soon overpowered by numbers, wounded and taken prisoner, and the capital fell into the hands of the enemy. The navy yard was destroyed.

Here stands recorded one more display of British magnanimity. By order of Gen. Ross, the capitol, the President's house, and executive offices were burnt.

The enemy retired on the night of the 25th, by rapid marches; regained their ships and embarked.

A detachment from this fleet visited Alexandria; plundered the city, and carried off a quantity of flour, &c.

During these troubles at the south, the war was carried on at the west, which did honour to the American flag.

In the midst of the various occurrences of the war, on the northern frontier, on the sea-board, and on the ocean, important preparations were making to the westward; and although the spring and summer had passed away, without any incident in this quarter worthy of being recorded, they had not passed inactive. The general attention was now turned towards it with much anxiety, and the armies of the Niagara and St. Lawrence, remained almost with folded arms, awaiting the issue of Harrison's campaign, and the result of the contest for the mastership of lake Erie. The British, aware of the consequence of a defeat, had with great assiduity laboured to strengthen themselves. The reinforcements continually arriving at fort George, were evidently destined to follow up the advantages which Proctor might gain, in conjunction with the commander on the lake. In the meanwhile, the neighbouring states of Kentucky and Ohio, the people were excited in a most surprising degree; had it been necessary they would have risen *en masse;* almost every man capable of bearing a musket, was anxious to march. The governor of Ohio had scarcely issued his proclamation, calling on volunteers, (for the obligations of law to render military service were no longer thought of,) than fifteen thousand men presented themselves, completely armed and equipped—more than five times the number required. The venerable governor of Kentucky, Shelby, a revolutionary hero, and the Nestor of the present war, made it known that he would put himself at the head of the injured citizens of that state, and lead them to seek revenge for the murder of their relatives and friends; but limited the number of volunteers to four thousand. The state of Kentucky, called by the natives, "the dark and bloody ground," forty years ago was an unin-

habited forest, possessed by no tribe of Indians; but from time immemorial the theatre of sanguinary wars. At this day, it blooms beneath the hand of agriculture, it is filled with beautiful towns and villages; and is the abode of peace, opulence and refinement. The inhabitants are descended from the planters of Virginia and North Carolina, and emigrants, composed of the enterprising and intelligent of the other states. Living in abundance and at their ease, and more remote from the seats of commerce, they have imbibed less of foreign attachments or feelings, than any of our people; and are perhaps more enthusiastically devoted to the institutions of freedom. They have not a little of the manners of chivalry in their generous and hospitable deportment. Fearless of danger, regarding dishonor more than death, but with these qualities, a benevolence and humanity, which has scarcely a parallel. Had the elder brethren of our confederacy acted like this younger member, the Canadas would have been ours, and Britain would never have dared to insult us with her unwarrantable pretensions.

The transactions which are now to be related, may justly rank amongst the most pleasing to our feelings and national pride, of any which took place during the contest. The campaign opened with an affair, which, though comparatively of smaller consequence than some others, is in its circumstances one of the most brilliant that occurred during the war. This was the unparalleled defence of fort Sandusky, by a youth of twenty-one years of age. In August, and before the arrival of the Ohio and Kentucky volunteers, which did not take place until the following month, threatening movements had been made upon all the different forts, established by the Americans on the rivers which fall into lake Erie. After the siege of fort Meigs, the British had been considerably reinforced by regulars, and an unusual number of Indians, under their great leader Tecumseh. It was all-important to reduce these forts before the arrival of the volunteers. Major Croghan, then commanding at Upper Sandusky, having received intimation that the enemy were about to invest the fort of Lower Sandusky, had marched to this place with some additional force, and had been occupied with great assiduity in placing it in the best posture of defence. But the only addition of importance, which the time would allow him to make, was a ditch of six feet deep and nine feet wide, outside the stockade of pickets, by which these hastily constructed forts are enclosed, but which can afford but a weak defence against artillery. He had but one six pounder and about one hundred and sixty men, consisting of regulars, and detachments of the Pittsburgh and Petersburgh volunteers. General Harrison, not conceiving it practicable to defend the place, ordered young Croghan to retire on the approach of the

enemy, after having destroyed the works. This our young hero, taking the responsibility upon himself, determined to disobey.

On the first of August, general Proctor, having left a large body of Indians under Tecumseh, to keep up the appearance of a siege of fort Meigs, arrived at Sandusky with about five hundred regulars, seven hundred Indians, and some gun-boats. After the general had made such dispositions of his troops, as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, he sent a flag by colonel Elliott and major Chambers, demanding a surrender, accompanied with the usual base and detestable threats of butchery and cold blood massacre, if the garrison should hold out. A spirited answer was retured by Croghan, who found that all his companions, chiefly striplings like himself, would support him to the last.

When the flag returned, a brisk fire was opened from the gunboats and howitzer, and which was kept up during the night. In the morning they opened with three sixes, which had been planted under cover of the night, within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, but not with much effect. About four o'clock in the afternoon, it was discovered that the enemy had concentrated his fire against the northwest angle, with the intention of making a breach. This part was immediately strengthened by the apposition of bags of flour and sand, so that the pickets suffered but little injury. During this time, the six pounder was carefully concealed in the bastion, which covered the point to be assailed, and it was loaded with slugs and grape. About five hundred of the enemy now advanced in close column to assail the part where it was supposed the pickets must have been injured: at the same time making several feints, to draw the attention of the beseiged to other parts of the fort: their force being thus divided, a column of three hundred and fifty men, which were so enveloped in smoke as not to be seen until they approached within twenty paces of the lines, advaneed rapidly to the assault. A fire of musketry from the fort, for a moment threw them into confusion, but were then quickly rallied by colonel Short, their commander, who, now springing over the outer works into the ditch, commanded the rest to follow, crying out give the d——d Yankees no quarter!" Scarcely had these detestable words escaped his lips, and the greater part of his followers landed in the ditch, when the six pounder opened upon them a most destructive fire, killing and wounding the greater part, and amongst the first, the wretched leader, who was sent into eternity, before his words had died upon the air. A volley of musketry was, at the same time, fired upon those who had not ventured. The officer who succeeded Short, exasperated at being thus treated by

a few boys, formed his broken column, and again rushed to the ditch, where he, and those who dared to follow him, met with the same fate as their fellow soldiers. The small arms were again played on them, the whole British force was thrown into confusion, and in spite of the exertions of their officers, fled to the woods, almost panick struck, whither they were soon followed by the Indians. Thus were these men, confident of success, and detestable in the intended use of victory, most signally chastised, under Providence, by a force scarce a tenth of their numbers. Terror indescribable took possession of the assailants, and they retreated towards their boats, scarcely daring to cast their eyes towards the fatal spot, while they were followed by their allies in sullen silence.

If this gallant defence deserves the applause of the brave, the subsequent conduct of the beseiged deserves the praise of every friend of humanity. The scene which now ensued, deserves to be denominated sublime. The little band, forgetting in a moment that they had been assailed by merciless foes, who sought to massacre them without regarding the laws of honorable war, now felt only the desire of relieving wounded men, and of administering comfort to the wretched. Had they been friends, had they been brothers, they could not have experienced a more tender solicitude. The whole night was occupied in endeavouring to assuage their sufferings; provisions and buckets of water were handed over the pickets, and an opening was made, by which many of the sufferers was taken in, who were immediately supplied with surgical aid; and this, although a firing was kept up with small arms by the enemy, until some time in the night. The loss of the garrison amounted to one killed and seven wounded; that of the enemy, it is supposed, to be at least two hundred. Upwards of fifty were found in and about the ditch. It was discovered next morning, that the enemy had hastily retreated, leaving a boat and a considerable quantity of military stores. Upwards of seventy stand of arms were taken, besides a quantity of ammunition. The Americans were engaged during the day, in burying the dead with the honours of war, and providing for the wounded.

This exploit called forth the admiration of every party in the United States. Croghan, together with his companions, captain Hunter, and lieutenants Johnson, Bayley, and Meeks, of the seventeenth; Anthony, of the twenty-fourth; and ensigns Ship and Duncan, of the seventeenth, together with the other officers and volunteers, were highly complimented by the general. They afterwards received the thanks of congress. Croghan was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and was presented with an elegant sword by the ladies of Chilicothe.

Soon after this affair Tecumseh raised the siege of fort Meigs, and followed Proctor to Detroit; all hope was now given up by the enemy of reducing these forts, until they could gain the ascendency on the lake.

The utmost exertions had been made in the meanwhile, by captain Perry, to complete the naval armament on lake Erie. By the fourth of August, the fleet was completed; but several of the vessels were with difficulty got over the bar, on which there are but five feet water. He sailed in quest of the enemy, but not meeting him, returned on the eighth, and after receiving a reinforcement of sailors, brought by captain Elliot, sailed again on the twelfth, and on the fifteenth anchored in the bay of Sandusky. Here, after taking in about twenty volunteer marines, he again went in quest of the enemy; and after cruising off Malden, returned to Put-in-Bay, a distance of thirty miles. His fleet consisted of the brig Lawrence, of 20 guns; the Niagara, captain Elliot, of twenty; the Caledonia, lieutenant Turner, three; the schooner Ariel, of four; the Scorpion, of two; the Somers, of two, and two swivels; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tygress and Porcupine, of one gun each; making a fleet of nine vessels and fifty-four guns. On the morning of the tenth of September, the enemy was discovered bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under weigh, and stood out to meet him. Superiority was decidedly in favour of the British; the Americans had three more vessels, but this was much more than counterbalanced by the size of those of the enemy, and the number of their guns.—Their fleet consisted of the Detroit, Captain Barclay, of nineteen guns, and two howitzers; the Queen Charlotte, of seventeen guns, captain Finnis; the schooner Lady Provost, lieutenant Buchan, of thirteen guns, and two howitzers; the brig Hunter, of ten guns; the sloop Bittle Belt, of three; and the schooner Chippewa, of one gun and two swivels; in all six vessels and sixty three guns.

When the Americans stood out, the British fleet had the weather gage; but the wind soon after changed, and brought the American fleet to windward. The line of battle was formed at eleven, and fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy's flag ship, the Queen Charlotte, opened her fire upon the Lawrence, which she sustained for ten minutes, before she could approach near enough for her carronades to return. She therefore bore up, making signals for the other vessels to hasten to her support, and about twelve, brought her guns to bear upon the enemy. Unfortunately, the wind being too light, the remainder of the squadron could not be brought up to her assistance, and she was compelled to contend, for two hours, with two ships of equal force. The contest was, notwithstanding,

kept up with unshaken courage and a degree of coolness, which deserves admiration. By this time the brig, which had so long borne the brunt of the whole of the British force, had become entirely unmanageable; every gun was dismounted, and, with the exception of four or five, her whole crew either killed or wounded. Perry now, with admirable presence of mind, and which drew forth the praise of the gallant officer to whom he was opposed, resolved to shift his flag, leaped into his boat, and heroically waving his sword, passed unhurt to the Niagara. At the moment he reached the Niagara, he saw with anguish the flag of his ship come down; she was utterly unable to make further resistance, and it would have been a wanton waste of the remaining lives, to continue the contest; the enemy was not able to take possession of her. Captain Elliott, seconding the design of the commodore, volunteered to bring up the rest of the fleet: for at this critical moment the wind had providentially, increased. Perry now bore down upon the enemy with a fresh ship; and passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a destructive broadside into each from his starboard, and from his larboard into the Chippewa and Little Belt. In this manner cutting through the line, he was within pistol shot of the Lady Prevost, which received so heavy a fire as to compel her men to run below. At this moment the Caledonia came up, and opened her fire; several others of the squadron were enabled soon after to do the same. For a time, this novel and important combat mingled with indescribable violence and fury. The issue of a campaign, the mastery of a sea, the glory and renown of two rival nations, matched for the first time in squadron, were the incentives to the contest. But it was not long before the scale turned in favour of Perry, and his ship, the Lawrence, was again enabled to hoist her flag. The Queen Charlotte, having lost her captain and all her principal officers, by some mischance ran foul of the Detroit, and the greater part of the guns of both ships rendered useless. They were now compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the Niagara, and the other vessels of the squadron. The flag of captain Barclay was soon after struck, and those of the Queen Charlotte, the Lady Prevost, the Hunter, and the Chippewa, came down in succession: the Little Belt attempted to escape, but was pursued by two gunboats and captured.

Thus after a contest of three hours, was this unparalleled naval victory achieved, in which every vessel of the enemy was captured, the first occurrence of the kind ever recorded. If any thing could heighten this glorious victory, it was the modest and yet sublime manner in which it was announced by the incomparable Perry: WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS. Britain had been beaten in single combat; she

was now beaten in squadron, where she had conceived herself invincible. The loss in this bloody affair, was very great in proportion to the numbers engaged. The Americans had twenty seven killed and ninety six wounded; amongst the first, were lieutenant Brooks, of the marines, and midshipman Laub; amongst the latter, were lieutenant Yarnell, sailing-master Taylor, purser Hamilton, and midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout. The loss of the British was about two hundred in killed and wounded, and the number of prisoners amounted to six hundred, exceeding the whole number of the Americans. Commodore Barclay, a gallant officer, who had lost an arm at the battle of Trafalgar, was severely wounded, and the loss of officers, on the side of the British, was unusually great. Among the officers particularly spoken of on this occasion, were captain Elliot, lieutenants Turner, Edwards, Forest, Clark, and Cummings, besides those already mentioned.

The victory of commodore Perry left the Americans in peaceable possession of Lake Erie, but Detroit and Malden still remained in possession of the British. The triumph of the American arms seemed to unite conflicting parties, and the kindness extended to the British captives, reflected the brightest glory on our country. But the territory still occupied by the enemy was to be retaken. For the accomplishment of this purpose, colonel Johnson, with a body of his faithful Kentuckians, were destined to act against Detroit, and general Harrison was to march against Malden. Finding Malden untenable, the British general destroyed, and then evacuated it. On the 2d of October, general Harrison, with about 3500 men, commenced a pursuit, and on the 5th, the enemy was overtaken. Colonel Johnson, who had formed a junction with Gen. Harrison, was sent forward to reconnoitre the British and Indian forces, gave intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, at the distance of a few miles. On their left was the river, and their right consisting of Indians, under Tecumseh, rested on a swamp.

The American force consisted of Ohio militia, and four thousand Kentuckians, the flower of their state, commanded by governor Shelby, who arrived at the camp of general Harrison on the 7th of September. When the troops approached the river Raisin, which had been the scene to such wanton barbarities, they halted to contemplate for a while, the tragic spot. With feelings which language must fail to describe, they gathered up the undistinguishable bones of friends and foes, and consigned them to one common grave, with affecting demonstrations of grief.

The enemy was drawn up under cover of the beech trees by which the narrow strip of land was covered. The Americans

were soon formed in battle array. General Trotter's brigade formed the front line, supported by Desha's divisions on the left. The brigade of general King formed the second line, in rear of general Trotter's, and Chile's acted as a corps of reserve, both under the command of major general Henry. The brigades averaged five hundred men each. Governor Shelby occupied the angle formed the brigades of Trotter and Desha. The regular troops, numbering only one hundred and twenty men, were formed into columns, and occupied the narrow space between the river and the road, for the purpose of seizing the artillery should the enemy be repulsed. The order of general Harrison was, to form colonel Johnson's mounted men in two lines, in front of the Indians, but the underwood being too close, for cavalry to be effective, he determined on a new mode of attack.

Knowing the dexterity of the backwood's-men in riding through forests, and the little inconvenience to them of carrying their rifles in such a situation, he determined to refuse his left to the Indians, and charge on the regulars drawn up among the beech trees; the mounted regiment was accordingly drawn up in front. The army moved on but a short distance in this way, when the mounted men received the enemy's fire and were instantly ordered to charge. The horses, in front of the column at first recoiled from the fire; but soon after got in motion, and immediately at full speed broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest was over in front. The mounted men instantly formed in the rear, and poured a destructive fire, and were about to make another charge, when the British officers, finding it impossible to form their broken ranks, immediately surrendered.

Upon the left, the onset was begun by Tecumseh with great fury. Colonel R. M. Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a galling fire, which he returned with effect, while the Indians advanced towards the point occupied by governor Shelby; and at first made an impression on it; but the aged warrior brought a regiment to its support. The combat now raged with increasing fury; the Indians to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, seemed determined to maintain their ground to the last. The terrible voice of Tecumseh could be distinctly heard, encouraging his warriors; and although beset on every side, excepting on that of the morass, they fought with more determined courage than had ever been witnessed in these people. An incident soon occurred, however, which decided the contest. Colonel Johnson rushed towards the spot where the warriors, clustering around their undaunted chief, appeared resolved to perish by his side; in a moment a hundred rifles were aimed at the American,

whose uniform and white horse which he rode rendered a conspicuous object; his holsters, dress, and accoutrements, were pierced with bullets, his horse and himself receiving a number of wounds. At the instant his horse was about to sink under him, the daring Kentuckian, covered with blood from his wounds, was discovered by Tecumseh; the chief having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomahawk, but struck with the appearance of the warrior who stood before him, hesitated for a moment, and that moment was his last. The Kentuckian levelled a pistol at his breast, and they both, almost at the same instant, fell to the ground. The Kentuckians rushed forward to the rescue of their leader, and the Indians, no longer hearing the voice of Tecumseh soon after fled. Near the spot where this scene occurred, thirty Indians were found dead, and six whites.

Thus fell Tecumseh, the most celebrated Indian warriour that ever raised the tomahawk against us, and with him fell the last hope of our Indian enemies. This mighty warriour was the determined foe of civilization, and had for years been labouring to unite all the Indian tribes in opposing the progress of the settlements to the westward. Had such a man opposed the European colonists on their first arrival, this continent, in all probability, would still have been a wilderness. To those who prefer a savage, uncultivated waste inhabited by wolves and panthers, and by men more savage still, to the busy city, to the peaceful hamlet and cottage, to science and the comforts of civilization, to such it may be a source of regret that Tecumseh came too late. But if the cultivation of the earth, and the cultivation of the human intellect and the human virtues, are agreeable in the sight of the Creator, it may be a just cause of felicitation that this champion of barbarism was the ally of Great Britain, at a period, when he could only draw down destruction on his own head, by savagely daring what was beyond his strength. But Tecumseh fell respected by his enemies, as a great and a magnanimous chief. Although he seldom took prisoners in battle, he treated well those that had been taken by others; and, at the defeat of Dudley, actually put to death a chief whom he found engaged in the work of massacre. He had been in almost every engagement with the whites since Harmer's defeat, although at his death, he scarcely exceeded forty years of age. Tecumseh had received the stamp of greatness from the hand of nature, and had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have shone as one of the most distinguished of men. He was endowed with a powerful mind, with the soul of a hero. There was an uncommon dignity in his countenance and manners; by the former he could be easily discovered even after death, among

the rest of the slain, for he wore no insignia of distinction. When girded with a silk sash, and told by general Proctor that he was made a brigadier in the British service, for his conduct at Brownstown and Magagua, he returned the present with respectful contempt. Born with no title to command, but his native greatness, every tribe yielded submission to him at once, and no one ever disputed his precedence. Subtle and fierce in war, he possessed uncommon eloquence,—his speeches might bear a comparison with those of the most celebrated orators of Greece and Rome. His invective was terrible, as we had frequent occasion to experience, and as may be seen in the reproaches which he applied to Proctor, a few days before his death, in a speech which was found amongst the papers of the British officers. His form was uncommonly elegant; his stature about six feet, his limbs perfectly proportioned. He was honourably interred by the victors, by whom he was held in much respect, as an inveterate, but a magnanimous enemy.

The loss of the Americans in this engagement, was more than fifty killed and wounded, among whom was colonel Whitely a revolutionary soldier, killed. The loss of the British was nineteen killed and fifty wounded. Six hundred were taken prisoners, of the Indians, one hundred and twenty were left on the field. Several pieces of cannon, taken in the revolution, and which had been surrendered by general Hull, were trophies of this victory. General Proctor fled when the charge was made, and escaped down the Thames, by means of fleet horses, though closely pursued. His carriage together with his private papers, was left in his haste to retreat.

The time was now come, which would prove whether the stigma past upon the chivalrous people of Kentucky by the infamous Proctor, in order that his own atrocious conduct might escape notice, was founded in truth. It was now seen whether, to use the words of this monster, they were a "ferocious and mortal foe, using the same mode of warfare, with the allies of Britain." The recollection of the affair of the river Raisin might have justified revenge: and what is more, the instruments who perpetrated those horrid deeds were now at their disposal; bereft of hope by this signal defeat and the loss of their great leader, the savages sued for peace, and as an earnest of their sincerity, offered to raise their tomahawks on the side of the U. States, and to inflict upon the British prisoners, the same abominable cruelties, they had practised on the Americans. But the Kentuckians, to their honour, far from giving way to the passions of revenge, forebore even a word, or look of insult; there was not even an allusion to the murder of their brothers and friends; the prisoners were distributed in small

parties, in the interior towns, and although extremely insulting in their deportment, were not merely treated with humanity, but in many places actually caressed and fed with dainties by the compassionate inhabitants. This treatment was carried to an excess, which might properly deserve the name of folly; were it not a noble mode of revenge for what our countrymen at that moment endured in the British dungeons on the land, and in the floating prisons on the sea, where they underwent every species of distress, wretchedness and torture.

The Indian war now ceased, and our frontier rested in security. Most of the volunteers returned home. General Harrison stationed general Cass at Detroit, with about one thousand men, and proceeded with the remainder to join the central army at Buffalo. About this time, at the request of general Vincent, a correspondence was opened between him and general Harrison, relative to the treatment of the British prisoners. After assuring the British general that the request to treat his prisoners with humanity, was unnecessary, he referred him to the treatment experienced by American captives, and referred him to the scenes which had transpired at the river Raisin, the Miami, others of a similar complexion, and wished to be informed whether the Indians should be permitted to repeat those cruelties. His words are worthy of remembrance.

"Use then, I pray you, your authority and influence to stop the dreadful effusion of innocent blood, which proceeds from the employment of those savage monsters, whose aid, as must now be discovered, is so little to be depended on when most wanted, and which can have so trifling an effect on the issue of war. The effect of their barbarities will not be confined to the present generation. Ages yet to come will feel the deep rooted hatred and enmity, which they must produce between the two nations."

The reply of general Vincent was not unlike that of sir Sidney Beckwith, vague and evasive. He expressed himself perfectly satisfied on the score of the treatment of the prisoners, but with respect to the other topics, he declined saying any thing; it was beyond his power to give an explicit answer; but he pledged his honour that to the utmost of his power, he would join with general Harrison in alleviating the calamities of war. Although general Harrison pledged himself to produce proofs of every thing which he stated, general Vincent chose to be silent upon the subject; neither disavowing that such acts were sanctioned by the British government, nor calling the truth of them in question; they will, therefore, remain an indelible stigma on the British name.

The successes of the north western army, and the victory on Lake Erie, prepared the way for the invasion of Canada. A

more formidable force was collected on the frontier, than heretofore, under more experienced officers, and the Indians had declared against the enemy. The public mind was elated, and a fit opportunity presented for the invasion of Canada.

General Armstrong was at the head of the war department, and much was expected from his experience and zeal. Improvements were introduced, especially in the selection of officers. The Secretary proceeded to the northern frontier, to put his plans into operation. The plan was perhaps judicious, but the season was too far advanced, to accomplish his intentions.

General Dearborn resigned, and general Wilkinson was called from the southern army to supply his place.—He issued an order which gave general satisfaction, and much was expected from his military science. The force directly under his command, amounted to eight thousand men, and he expected to be joined in October by the force under general Harrison. General Hampton commanded about four thousand men at Plattsburg. The plan was, to descend the St. Lawrence, pass the British posts above, form a junction with general Hampton, and invade Montreal.

The army, which had been distributed in different corps, and stationed at various points, was now to be concentrated at some place most convenient for its embarkation. For this purpose Grenadier's Island, which lies between Sackett's Harbour and Kingston, was selected, on account of its contiguity to the St. Lawrence, as the most proper place of rendezvous. On the second of October, general Wilkinson left fort George, with the principal body of the troops, and soon reached the island, where he occupied himself incessantly in making the necessary preparations for the prosecution of his enterprise. He several times visited Sackett's Harbour, at which place the troops first arrived, and after receiving their necessary supplies proceeded to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Scott, whom he had left in command at fort George, was ordered to embark with his regiment of artillery, and colonel Randolph's infantry, on board a vessel of the squadron, and proceed to the island. Colonel Dennis was left in the command of Sackett's Harbour; and the general having provided a sufficient number of boats to transport the artillery through the St. Lawrence, proceeded to put the troops in motion. By the twenty-third the troops thus collected, exceeded seven thousand men, and were composed of colonel Porter's light artillery, a few companies of colonels Scott's and Macomb's regiments of artillery, twelve regiments of infantry, and Forsythe's rifle corps.

General Brown, now a brigadier in the service of the United States, was ordered to take the command of the advance

of the army at this place. On the first of November, a British squadron made its appearance near French creek, with a large body of infantry; a battery of three eighteen pounders, skilfully managed by captains M'Pherson and Fanning, soon forced them to retire. The attack was renewed the next morning, but with no better success; and as the other corps of the army now daily arrived, the enemy thought proper to move off. On the sixth, the army was put in motion, and in the evening landed a few miles above the British fort Prescott. After reconnoitering the passage at this place, and finding that the fort commanded the river, general Wilkinson directed the fixed ammunition to be transported by land to a safe point below, and determined to take advantage of the night to pass with the flotilla, while the troops were marched to the same point, leaving on board the boats merely a sufficient number to navigate them. Availing himself of a heavy fog which came on in the evening, the commander endeavoured to pass the fort unobserved; but the weather clearing up, and the moon shining, he was discovered by the enemy, who opened a heavy fire. General Brown, who was in the rear with the flotilla, thought it prudent to land for the present, until the night should grow darker. He then proceeded down the river, but not without being discovered, and again exposed to a severe cannonade; notwithstanding which, not one out of three hundred boats suffered the slightest injury. Before ten o'clock the next day, they had all safely arrived at the place of destination. A messenger was now despatched to general Hampton, informing him of the movement of the army, and requiring his co-operation.

The enemy having discovered the design of the Americans, determined to counteract it. Parties were posted where they could annoy our boats by musket shot, and the illness of the Commander-in-chief, augmented alarmingly.

The army was delayed for half a day in extricating two schrs. loaded with with provisions, which had been driven into a part of the river near Ogdensburgh, by the enemy's fire. A corps d'elite of twelve hundred men, under Colonel M'Comb, being despatched to remove the obstructions to the descent of the army, at three o'clock he was followed by the main body. On passing the first rapids of the St. Lawrence, the barge of the commander-in-chief was assailed by two pieces of artillery, but without any other injury than cutting the rigging. The attention of the enemy was soon diverted by lieutenant colonel Eustis who returned their fire from some light barges, while major Forsythe at the same time, landed some of his riflemen, attacked them unexpectedly, and carried off three pieces of their artillery. The flotilla came to about six miles below

and that the dragoons attached to the first division of the enemy, had been collected at a place called the White House, at a contraction of the river; to which point the flotilla was ordered the next morning to proceed. On arriving at this place on the eighth, general Brown was ordered to go forward with his brigade, to reinforce colonel M'Comb, and take command of the advance, while the commander-in-chief directed the transportation of the dragoons across the St. Lawrence. The last was completed during the night.

The British now determined to harass the Americans. On the 9th, a skirmish occurred between the American riflemen and a party of militia and Indians.

In the course of the day, the cavalry and four pieces of artillery under captain M'Pherson, were ordered to clear the coast as far as the head of the *Longue Saut;* and in the evening the army arrived at a place called the Yellow House, which stands near the Saut. As the passage of this place was attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the rapidity of the current and of its length, it was deemed prudent to wait until the next day, and in the meanwhile it became necessary to use the utmost precaution.

On the morning of the tenth, general Brown with the troops under his command, excepting two pieces of artillery, and the second regiment of dragoons, was ordered to march in the advance of the army. A regard for the safety of the men, had induced the commander-in-chief to retain as few of the troops in the boats as possible, on account of the exposure to which they would be subject, in the long and dangerous passage of these rapids, and where the enemy had in all probability established batteries for the purpose of impeding their descent. The second regiment of dragoons, and a considerable portion of the other brigades, which had been withdrawn from the boats, were ordered to follow under general Boyd, the steps of general Brown, to prevent the enemy who were still hanging on the rear of the army, from making any advantageous attack. Gen. Brown now commenced his march at the head of his troops, consisting principally of colonel M'Comb's artillery, and a part of Scott's part of the light artillery, the riflemen, and the sixth, fifteenth and twenty-second regiments. It was not long before he found himself engaged with a strong party at a block house near the Saut, which after a contest of a few minutes, was repulsed by the riflemen under Forsythe, who was severely wounded. About the same time some of the enemy's galleys approached the flotilla, which had landed and commenced a fire upon it, by which a number of boats were injured; two eighteen pounders, however, being hastily run on shore, a fire from them soon compelled the assailants to retire. The day being now

too far spent to attempt the Saut, it was resolved to postpone it until the day following.

At ten o'clock on the eleventh, at the moment that the flotilla was about to proceed, and when at the same time, the division under general Boyd, consisting of his own and the brigades of generals Covington and Swartwout, were drawn up in marching order, an alarm was given that the enemy was discovered approaching in column. The commander-in-chief and general Lewis, being both too much indisposed to take the command, general Boyd was ordered to face about and attack the approaching army. The enemy's galleys had at the same time approached, for the purpose of attacking the rear of the American flotilla. General Boyd now advanced with his detachment formed in three columns, and ordered a part of general Swartwout's brigade to move forward, and bring the enemy to action. Colonel Ripley, accordingly at the head of the twenty-first regiment, passed the wood which skirts the open ground called Chrystler's field, and drove in several of the enemy's parties. On entering the field, he met the advance of the British, consisting of the forty-ninth and the Glengary fencibles. Colonel Ripley immediately ordered a charge, which was executed with such surprising firmness, that these two regiments, nearly double his numbers, were compelled to retire; and on making a stand, were a second time driven before the bayonet, and compelled to pass over the ravines and fences, by which the field was intersected, until they fell on their main body .General Covington had, before this, advanced upon the right of the enemy, where his artillery was posted, and at the moment colonel Ripley had assailed the left flank, the right was forced by a determined onset, and success appeared scarcely doubtful. Unfortunately, however, general Covingington, whose activity had rendered him conspicuous, became a mark for the sharp shooters of the enemy stationed in Chrystler's house, and he was shot from his horse. The fall of this gallant officer arrested the progress of the brigade, and the artillery of the enemy threw it into confusion, and caused it to fall back in disorder. The British commander now wheeled part of his line into column, with the view of capturing some pieces of artillery, which were no longer supported. A body of dragoons, under the adjutant-general, Walbach, attempted, in a very gallant manner, to charge the British column, but from the nature of the ground was not successful. At this critical moment, colonel Ripley, who had been engaged with the enemy's left flank, threw his regiment between the artillery and the advancing column, and frustrated their design. The British fell back with precipitation. The regiments which had broken had not retired from the field, but still continued to

keep up an irregular fight with various success; and the twenty-first having by this time expended its ammunition, and being much exposed, was withdrawn to another position, and in the meanwhile the enemy again attempted to possess themselves of the artillery. One piece was unfortunately captured by them, in consequence of the death of lieutenant William S. Smith, who commanded it; the others were brought off by the coolness and bravery of captain Armstrong Irvine. The action soon after ceased, having been kept up for two hours by little better than raw troops against an equal number of veterans. The British force consisted of detachments from the forty ninth, eighty fourth, hundred and fourth, the Voltigeurs, and the Glengary regiment. The enemy soon after retired to their camp, and the Americans to their boats.

In this battle the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred and thirty-nine, of whom one hundred and two were killed; among these were lieutenants Smith, Hunter, and Olmstead; among the wounded, were general Covington, who afterwards died; colonel Preston, majors Chambers, Noon and Cummings; captains Townsend, Foster, Myers, Campbell, and Murdock; and lieutenants Heaton, Williams, Lynch, Pelham, Brown, and Creery. The British loss could not have been less than that of the Americans.

This appears to have been a drawn battle, the British and Americans both leaving the ground. On the 11th. the army joined the advance near Barnhart. The commander-in-chief received information from General Hampton, which puts an end to the design against Montreal.

On the sixth, a few days before the battle of Chrystler's field, the commander-in-chief had given orders to general Hampton to meet him at St. Regis; but soon after this order, a letter was received from General Hampton, in which, after stating that from the disclosure of the state of general Wilkinson's supply of provisions, and the situation of the roads to St. Regis, which rendered it impossible to transport a greater quantity than could be carried by a man on his back, he had determined to open a communication from Plattsburgh to Conewago, or by any other point on the St. Lawrence, which the commander-in-chief might indicate. General Hampton sometime before this, with a view to a further movement of troops, had descended the Chateaugay river; about the same time that the army was concentrated on lake Ontario. Sir George Prevost perceiving this movement towards Montreal, had collected all his force at this point to oppose the march of Hampton. On the twenty first of October this officer crossed the line, but soon found his road obstructed by fallen timber, and the ambuscade of the enemy's militia and Indians. A wood of consider-

able extent would have to be passed, before they could reach the open country, and while the engineers were engaged in cutting a way through, colonel Purdy was detached with the light troops and one regiment of the line, to turn their flank, and then seize on the open country below. In this he succeeded, and the army by the next day reached the position of the advance. But it was discovered that about seven miles further, there was a wood which had been felled and formed into an abatis, and that a succession of breast works, some of them well supplied with artillery, had been formed by the main body of the enemy. Colonel Purdy, on the twenty fifth, was ordered to march down the river on the opposite side, and on passing the enemy, to cross over, and attack him in his rear, whilst the brigade under general Izard would attack him in front. Colonel Purdy had not marched far, when his orders were countermanded; but on his return, he was attacked by the enemy's infantry and Indians, and at first thrown into confusion, but the assailants were soon after repulsed; they came out at the same moment in front, and attacked general Izard, but were compelled to retire behind their defences.

Gen. Hampton finding that the enemy was gaining strength, determined to retreat. A council of officers was called by the commander in chief, and the army retired to winter quarters at French Mills.

Thus determined a campaign, which gave rise to dissatisfaction, proportioned to the high expectations which had been indulged; this unexpected turn of affairs appeared to cast a shade upon all the brilliant series of success which had preceded. Opinion was much divided as to the causes of the failure, and as to the parties who ought to bear the blame.

While these things were taking place on the land, the commander of our squadron on the lake was not idle. Commodore Chauncey, it has been seen, after his first attempt to bring the enemy to action, returned to Sackett's Harbour, for the purpose of obtaining a fresh supply of provisions. After being reinforced by a new schooner, he again sailed on a cruise; and on the seventh of September, discovered the British squadron near the Niagara, and immediately stood for it. Sir James, on perceiving the Americans, made sail to the northward, and was pursued during four days and nights; but owing to the dull sailing of a greater part of the pursuers, he was enabled to keep out of their reach. On the fourth day, off Genesee river, commodore Chauncey having a breeze, while sir James lay becalmed, endeavoured to close with him; this he was not able to accomplish, the enemy taking the breeze also, when the American squadron had approached within half a mile. After a running fight of more than three hours, the British escaped;

but the next morning ran into Amherst bay, whither the American commodore, for want of a pilot, did not think it prudent to follow, but contented himself with forming a blockade. In the running fight, the British sustained considerable injury: that of the Americans was very trifling. The blockade was continued until the seventeenth of September, when in consequence of a heavy gale which blew from the westward, the commodore was compelled to leave his station, and the British escaped into Kingston.

After remaining but a short time in Sackett's Harbor, commodore Chauncey again sailed towards Niagara, where he arrived on the twenty fourth, having passed sir James at the False Ducks, without noticing him, intending to draw him into the lake. A few days after, the American commodore received information, that the enemy was in the harbor of York; he therefore made sail to that place, as fast as his dull sailing schooners would permit; and on the twenty seventh, early in the morning, discovered the enemy in motion in the bay, and immediately stood for him. This being perceived by sir James, he stood out and endeavoured to escape to the southward: but finding that the American was close upon him, tacked his squadron in succession, and commenced a well directed fire at the Pike, in order to cover his rear; and attacking the rear of his opponent as he passed to leeward; this was prevented by the skilful manœuvring of Chauncey, by bearing down in line on the centre of the enemy's squadron, which was thrown into confusion, Yeo immediately bore away, but not before his ship had been roughly handled by that of the commodore. In twenty minutes, the main and mizentopmast and mainyard of the Wolfe, were shot away; the British commander set sail upon his foremast, and keeping dead before the wind, was enabled to outsail the greater part of Chauncey's squadron. The chase was continued until three o'clock, the Pike having the Asp in tow, and during the greater part of this time, within reach of the enemy's shot. Captain Crane, in the Madison, and lieutenant Brown, of the Oneida, used every exertion to close with the enemy, but without success. The chase was at length reluctantly given up, as it came on to blow almost a gale, and there was no hope of closing with the enemy before he could reach the British batteries, and without great risk of running ashore. The commodore was justly entitled to claim a victory in this affair; although the enemy were not captured, they were certainly beaten; two of his vessels were at one moment completely in the commodore's power; but from his eagerness to close with the whole fleet, they effected their escape. In addition to the general policy of sir James Yeo, the late affair on lake Erie had rendered him particularly careful to avoid an en-

gagement. The loss on board the Pike was considerable, owing to her having been so long exposed to the fire of the enemy's fleet; the most serious, however, was occasioned by the bursting of one of her guns, by which twenty two men were killed and wounded; the total amounted to twenty seven. The vessel was a good deal cut up in her hull and rigging.

Shortly after this affair, the commodore having communicated with general Wilkinson on the subject of the expedition then on foot, was advised to continue to watch the enemy's squadron; and if possible, to prevent its return to Kingston. About the beginning of October the commodore again chased the enemy's fleet for several days, and forced it to take refuge in Burlington bay; the next morning, on sending the Lady of the Lake to reconnoitre, it was discovered that sir James had taken advantage of the darkness of night, and escaped to Kingston. Much pleasantry was indulged at this time, at the shyness of the British knight, and his ungallant escape from the Lady of the Lake. The chase was now renewed, and, favoured by the wind, the commodore came in sight of seven schooners, and captured five of them, in spite of their efforts to escape by separating. Before sun down, three of them struck to the Pike, and another to the Sylph and the Lady of the Lake, and a fifth was afterwards captured by the Sylph. They turned out to be gun vessels, bound to the head of the lake as transports. Two of them were the Julia and Growler, which had been lost by the Americans. On board were three hundred soldiers, belonging to the De Watteville regiment. It was ascertained that the ship of sir James Yeo, and the Royal George had suffered very considerable injury, as well as loss in killed and wounded. Commodore Chauncey remained master of the lake during the remainder of the season.

The consequences of leaving a large force of the enemy in the rear, and withdrawing the troops from Niagara, were soon felt. General Harrison arrived at Buffalo soon after the departure of the commander in chief, but could not follow, for want of transports. He embarked after the main body had gone into winter quarters. The fort was left under command of general M'Clure, who commanded militia, whose term of service had nearly expired. This force was soon reduced to a handful of men, and the place was no longer tenable. The enemy was in march with a large force. The fort was blown up, and the few troops crossed the river, just in time to escape the British. But this retreat was preceded by an act which every American ought to condemn. Newark, a handsome little village, near the fort, would greatly favour a besieging army, and orders were given by the Secretary, that if necessary for the *defence* of the fort, the village should be destroyed, to prevent

the enemy from taking shelter in it. By an astonishing misconception of these orders, the General gave notice to the inhabitants to retire, and left the village in flames. The act was promptly disavowed by the goverement. The order so misconceived, was soon enclosed to Sir George Prevost, expressing regret, and declaring the act unauthorised.

Sir George Prevost, however, did not wait for the disavowal of the American government; he had already inflicted a retaliation sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of the fiercest enemy. At day-light on the nineteenth of December, fort Niagara was surprised by colonel Murray, with about four hundred men, and the garrison, nearly three hundred in number, and principally invalids, was put to the sword; not more than twenty being able to escape. The commanding officer, captain Leonard, appears to have been shamefully negligent, or perhaps bought by the enemy: he was absent at the time, and had used no precautions against an assault. Having possessed themselves of this place, they soon after increased their force, and immediately proceeded to lay waste the Niagara frontier with fire and sword. The militia, hastily collected, could oppose no resistance to a large body of British regulars and seven hundred Indians. A spirited, but unavailing attempt was made by major Bennett to defend Lewistown; this village, together with that of Manchester, Young's town, and the Indian village of the Tuscaroras, were speedily reduced to ashes, and many of the inhabitants butchered. Major Mellory advanced from Slosser, to oppose the invaders, but was compelled by superior numbers to retreat. On the thirtieth, a detachment landed at Black Rock, and proceeded to Buffalo; general Hall had organized a body of militia, but on the approach of the enemy, they could not be induced to hold their ground. Great exertions were made by majors Staunton and Norton, and lieutenant Riddle, but to no purpose. The village was soon after reduced to ashes, and the whole frontier, for many miles, exhibited a scene of ruin and devastation. Here was indeed ample vengeance for the burning of Newark. Even the British general was satisfied, as appears by his proclamation of the twelfth of January: "the opportunity of punishment has occurred, and *a full measure of retribution has taken place:*" and he declared his intention of "pursuing no further a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character."

We think indeed it was time to stop, and we are well persuaded that those who venerate the *lex talionis*, must be satisfied that the measure of vindictive vengeance was full to overflowing.

About this time a very interesting subject was submitted to the consideration of congress. Twenty three American sol-

diers, taken at the battle of Queenstown, in the autumn of 1812, were detained in close confinement as British subjects; and sent to England to undergo a trial for treason. On this being made known to our government, orders were given to general Dearborn to confine a like number of British prisoners taken at fort George, and to keep them as hostages for the safety of the Americans; which was carried into effect, and soon after made known to the governour of Canada. The British government was no sooner informed of this, than governour Prevost was ordered to place forty six American officers and non-commissioned officers in confinement, to ensure the safety of the British soldiers.

This subject was the theme of very immediate debate in congress, which was at this time in session.

The result of this debate was, a determination to maintain with firmness the position which the administration had taken; and if Great Britain persisted in the fell resolution of rendering the war bloody beyond the example of modern times; as they had already rendered it most barbarous and ferocious, the United States must reluctantly pursue a course to be lamented by every man of common humanity.

Notwithstanding the intemperate opposition on the floor of congress, the war was evidently gaining ground; the conduct of the enemy, in the prosecution of hostilities, was such as to awaken the feelings of every American; and the rejection of the Russian mediation staggered many, who confidently predicted its prompt acceptance. The victories, which we had obtained at sea, came home to the feelings of the whole nation, and were claimed exclusively by the opposition, as having always been the best friends to the navy. The British actually complained, that those whom she considered her friends in America, should rejoice in her misfortunes; and accused them of faithlessness and inconstancy, because they permitted their love of country to overcome their hatred for the men in power. But this was a delightful proof of nationality, such as might have been expected from Britain herself, or from France, though not from a nation so recently composed of independent jarring states, not yet perfectly cemented. It becomes every virtuous man to rejoice in the good fortune of his country, however he may dislike the present rulers. This sentiment was gradually gaining ground; the warlike appearances every where displayed, interested the ardent minds of the young, and enterprising, and the feats of arms daily recounted, awakened the desire of being distinguished. The contagion of military pursuits was rapidly spreading. The habits of a people, who had been thirty years at peace, and constantly occupied in their industrious avocations, could not be changed suddenly. But

man is every where by nature warlike, and cannot exist long in the midst of martial scenes and preparations, without catching their spirit. It would not have been difficult to predict, that the foreign enemy, which was at first regarded only as the enemy of a party, would soon become the enemy of the country.

Our affairs in the southward, had assumed a serious aspect, and no sooner had the northern armies retired into winter quarters, than the public attention was kept alive, by the interesting events which transpired in the country of the Creeks, during the winter. That ill fated people had at length declared open war.

In consequence of the threatening appearances to the south, and the hostilities which already prevailed with the Indians inhabiting the Spanish territory, governour Mitchell, of Georgia, was required by the secretary at war, to detach a brigade to the Oakmulgee river, for the purpose of covering the frontier settlements of the state. Governor Holmes of the Mississippi territory, was at the same time ordered to join a body of militia to the volunteers under general Claiborne, then stationed on the Mobile. In the course of the summer, the settlers in the vicinity of that river, became so much alarmed from the hostile deportment of the Creeks, that the greater part abandoned their plantations, and sought refuge in the different forts; while the peace party amongst the Creeks, had in some places, shut themselves up in forts, and were besieged by their countrymen.

The commencement of hostilities was witnessed by one of the most shocking masacres, that can be found in the history of our Indian wars. The settlers, from an imperfect idea of their danger, had adopted an erroneous mode of defence, by throwing themselves into small forts or stations, at great distances from each other, on the various branches of the Mobile. Early in August it was ascertained, that the Indians intended to make an attack upon all these stations, and destroy them in detail. The first place which they would attaempt, would probably be fort Mims, in which the greatest number of families had been collected. Towards the latter part of August, information was brought that the Indians were about to make an attack on this post, but unfortunately too little attention was paid to the warning. During the momentary continuance of the alarm, some preparations were made for defence, but it seems that it was almost impossible to rouse them from their unfortunate disbelief of the proximity of their danger. The fort was commanded by major Beasly, of the Mississippi territory, (a brave officer, and as a private citizen highly respected,) with about a hundred volunteers under his command. By some fatality,

notwithstanding the warnings he had received, he was not sufficiently on his guard, and suffered himself to be surprised on the thirtieth, at noon-day. The sentinel had scarcely time to notify the approach of the Indians, when they rushed, with a dreadful yell, towards the gate, which was wide open; the garrison was instantly under arms, and the major flew towards the gate, with some of his men, in order to close it, and if possible expel the enemy; but he soon after fell mortally wounded. The gate was at length closed, after great slaughter on both sides; but a number of the Indians had taken possession of a block house, from which they were expelled, after a bloody contest, by captain Jack. The assault was still continued for an hour, on the out side of the pickets; the port holes were several times carried by the assailants, and retaken by those within the fort.

The Indians now for a moment withdrew, apparently disheartened by their loss, but on being harangued by their chief Weatherford, they returned with augmented fury to the assault; having procured axes, they proceeded to cut down the gate, and at the same time made a breach in the pickets, and possessing themselves of the area of the fort, compelled the besieged to take refuge in the houses. Here they made a gallant resistance, but the Indians at length setting fire to the roofs, the situation of these unfortunate people became altogether hopeless. The agonizing shrieks of the unfortunate women and children at their unhappy fate, would have awakened pity in the breasts of tigers; it is only by those who have some faint idea of the nature of Indian warfare, that the horror of their situation can be conceived. The terror of the scene had already been sufficient to have bereft them of their senses; but what heart does not bleed at the recital of its realities. Not a soul was spared by these monsters; from the most aged person to the youngest infant, they became the victims of indiscriminate butchery; and some, to avoid a worse fate, even rushed into the flames. A few only escaped by leaping over the pickets, while the Indians were engaged in the work of massacre. About two hundred and sixty persons of all ages, and sexes, thus perished, including some friendly Indians, and about one hundred negroes. The panic caused at the other posts, or stations, by this dreadful catastrophe, can scarcely be described; the wretched inhabitants, fearing a similar fate, abandoned their retreats of fancied security in the middle of the night, and in their endeavours to escape to Mobile, encountered every species of suffering. The dwellings of these settlers, (who were probably as numerous as the whole tribe of Creeks,) were burnt, and their cattle destroyed.

On the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, the Tennessee militia, under the orders of general Jackson and general Cocke, immediately marched to the country of the Creeks. On the second of November general Coffee was detached, with nine hundred men, against the Tallushatches towns, and reached the place about day light the next morning. The Indians, apprised of his approach, were prepared to receive him. Within a short distance of the village the enemy charged upon him, with a boldness seldom displayed by Indians. They were repulsed, and after the most obstinate resistance, in which they would receive no quarters, they were slain almost to a man, and their women and children taken prisoners. There were nearly two hundred of the warriors killed in this affair. The loss of the Americans was five killed and forty wounded.

Late in the morning of the seventh, a friendly Indian brought intelligence to general Jackson, that about thirty miles below his camp, were a number of Creeks collected at a place called Talledega, where they were engaged in besieging a number of friendly Indians, who must inevitably perish unless speedily relieved. This officer, whose resolutions were as rapidly executed as they were formed, marched at twelve o'clock the same night, at the head of twelve hundred men, and arrived within six miles of the place the next evening. At midnight he again advanced, by seven o'clock was within a mile of the enemy, and immediately made the most judicious arrangements for surrounding them. Having approached in this manner almost unperceived, within eighty yards of the Indians, the battle commenced on their part with great fury, but being repulsed on all sides, they attempted to make their escape, but soon found themselves enclosed; two companies having at first given way, a space was left through which a considerable number of the enemy escaped, and were pursued to the mountains with great slaughter. In this action the American loss was fifteen killed and eighty wounded. That of the Creeks was little short of three hundred; their whole force exceeded a thousand.

General Cocke, who commanded the other division of the Tennessee militia, on the eleventh detached general White from fort Armstrong, where he was encamped against the hostile towns on the Tallapoose river. After marching the whole night of the seventeenth, he surprised a town at day light, containing upwards of three hundred warriors, sixty of whom were killed and the rest taken prisoners. Having burnt several of their villages which had been deserted, he returned on the twenty third, without losing a single man.

The Georgia militia, under general Floyd, advanced into the Creek country, about the last of the month. Receiving infor-

mation that a great number of Indians were collected at the Autossee towns, on the Tallapoose river, a place which they called their beloved ground, and where, according to their prophets, no white man could molest them, general Floyd, placing himself at the head of nine hundred militia, and four hundred friendly Creeks, marched from his encampment on the Chatahouchie. On the evening of the twenty eighth, he encamped within ten miles of the place, and resuming his march at one o'clock, reached the towns about six, and commenced an attack upon both at the same moment. His troops were met by the Indians with uncommon bravery; and it was not until after an obstinate resistance, that they were forced, by his musketry and bayonets, to fly to the thickets and copses in the rear of the towns. In the course of three hours the enemy was completely defeated, and the villages in flames. Eleven Americans were killed and fifty wounded, among the latter the general himself: of the enemy, it is supposed that beside the Autossee and Tallassee kings, upwards of two hundred were killed.

This just retribution, it was hoped, would bring these wretched creatures to a proper sense of their situations; but unfortunately it had not this effect, they still persisted in their hostilities against us. In the month of December, general Claiborne marched a detachment against the towns of Eccanachaca, on the Alabama river. On the twenty second, he came suddenly upon them, killed thirty of their warriors, and after destroying their villages, returned with a trifling loss.

After the battle of Talledega, general Jackson was left with but a handful of men, in consequence of the term of service of the militia having expired. On the fourteenth of January he was fortunately reinforced by eight hundred volunteers from Tennessee, and soon after by several hundred friendly Indians.

He was also joined by general Coffee with a number of officers, his militia having returned home. On the seventeenth, with a view of making a diversion in favour of general Floyd, and at the same time of relieving fort Armstrong, which was said to be threatened, he penetrated the Indian country. On the evening of the twenty first, believing himself, from appearances, in the vicinity of a large body of Indians, he encamped with great precaution, and placed himself in the best attitude for defence. Some time in the night, one of his spies brought information that he had seen the enemy a few miles off, and from their being busily engaged in sending away their women and children, it was evident they had discovered the Americans, and would either escape or make an attack before morning. While the troops were in this state of readiness, they were vigorously attacked on their left flank about daylight; the enemy was re-

sisted with firmness, and after a severe contest, they fled in every direction. This was however soon discovered to be a feint; general Coffee having been despatched with four hundred men, to destroy the enemy's camp, with directions not to attack it, if strongly fortified, returned with information that it would not be prudent to attempt it without artillery; half an hour had scarcely elapsed, when the enemy commenced a fierce attack on Jackson's left flank. It seems they had intended, by the first onset, to draw the Americans into a pursuit, and by that means create a confusion; but this was completely prevented by Jackson's causing his left flank to keep its position. General Coffee, with about fifty of his officers, acting as volunteers, assailed the Indians on the left, while about two hundred friendly Indians came upon them on the right. The whole line giving them one fire, resolutely charged; and the enemy being disappointed in their plan, fled with precipitation. On the left flank of the Indians the contest was kept up some time longer; general Coffee was severely wounded, and his aid, A. Donaldson, killed; on being reinforced by a party of the friendly Indians, he compelled the enemy to fly, leaving fifty of their warriors on the ground.

General Jackson, being apprehensive of another attack, fortified his camp for the night; the next day, fearing a want of provisions, he found it necessary to retreat, and before night reached Enotachopco, having passed a dangerous defile without interruption. In the morning he had to cross a defile still more dangerous, where he might expect that the enemy had formed an ambuscade; he therefore determined to pass at some other point. The most judicious arrangements having been made for the disposition of his force in case of attack, he moved forward towards the pass which he had selected. The front guard, with part of the flank columns, together with the wounded, had scarcely crossed the creek, when the alarm was given in the rear. Jackson immediately gave orders for his right and left columns to wheel on their pivot, and crossing the stream above and below, assail the flanks and rear of the enemy, and thus completely enclose them. But, to his astonishment and mortification, when the word was given for these columns to form, and a few guns were fired, they precipitately gave way. This unaccountable flight had well nigh proved fatal: it drew along with it the greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than twenty five men, who being formed by colonel Carrol, maintained their ground for a time against overwhelming numbers. All that could now be opposed to the enemy, were the few who remained of the rear guard, the artillery company, and captain Rupel's company of spies. Their conduct, however, was admirable. Lieutenant

Armstrong, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity, dragged, with the assistance of a few more, the six pounder up the hill, although exposed to a heavy fire; and having gained his position, loaded the piece with grape, and fired it with such effect, that after a few discharges, the enemy was repulsed. The Indians, were pursued for several miles, by colonel Carrol, colonel Higgins, and captains Elliot and Pipkins. Captain Gordon, of the spies, had partly succeeded in turning their flanks, and by this impetuous charge, contributed greatly to restore the day. The Americans now continued their march without further molestation. In these different engagements, about twenty Americans were killed, and seventy five wounded, in the last, about one hundred and eighty of the Creeks were slain.

Meanwhile general Floyd was advancing towards the Indian territory, from the Chatahouchie river. On the twenty-seventh of January his camp was attacked by a large body of Indians about an hour before day. They stole upon the sentinels, fired upon them, and then rushed with great impetuosity towards the line. The action soon became general; the front of both flanks was closely pressed, but the firmness of the officers and men repelled their assaults at every point. As soon as it became sufficiently light, general Floyd strengthened his right wing, and formed his cavalry in the rear, then directed a charge; the enemy were driven before the bayonet, and being pursued by the cavalry, many of them were killed. The loss of general Floyd was seventeen killed and one hundred and thirty-two wounded. That of the Indians could not be ascertained; thirty-seven of their warriors were left dead on the field, but it is thought their loss was very considerable.

By this time, it might be supposed that the Creeks had been satisfied with the experiment of war, but they appear to have been infatuated in a most extraordinary degree. From the influence of their prophets over their superstitious minds, they were led on from one ruinous effort to another, in hopes that the time would at last arrive, when their enemies would be delivered into their hands.

General Jackson, having received considerable reinforcements from Tennessee, and being joined by a number of friendly Indians, set out on an expedition to the Tallapoose river. He proceeded from the Coose on the twenty-fourth of March, reached the southern extremity of the New Youca on the twenty-seventh, at a place called the Horse-shoe-bend of the Coose. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence; and here the Creeks, by the direction of their prophets, had made their last stand. Across the neck of land they had erected a breastwork of the greatest compactness and strength, from five

to eight feet high, and provided with a double row of port holes artfully arranged. In this place they considered themselves perfectly secure. The assailants could not approach without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the Indians who lay behind. The area thus enclosed by the breastworks was little short of one hundred acres. The warriors from Oakfuskee, Oakshaya, Hilebees, the Fish Ponds, and Eupata towns, had collected their force at this place, in number exceeding a thousand.

Early in the morning of the twenty-seventh general Jackson, having encamped the preceding night within six miles of the bend, detached general Coffee, with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner, that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of his force, general Jackson advanced to the point of the breastwork, and at half past ten, planted his artillery on a small eminence within eighty yards of the nearest point of the work, and within two hundred and fifty of the farthest. A brisk cannonade was opened upon the centre, and a severe fire was kept up with musketry and rifles, when the Indians ventured to show themselves behind their defences. In the meantime, general Coffee having crossed below, had advanced towards the village; when within half a mile of that which stood at the extremity of the peninsula, the Indians gave their yell; Coffee expecting an immediate attack, drew up his men in order of battle, and in this manner continued to move forward. The friendly Indians had previously taken possession of the bank, for the purpose of preventing the retreat of the enemy; but they no sooner heard the artillery of Jackson, and the approach of Coffee, than they rushed forward to the banks; while the militia, apprehending an attack from the Oakfuskee villages, were obliged to remain in order of battle. The friendly Indians, unable to remain silent spectators, began to fire across the stream, about one hundred yards wide, while some plunged into the river, and swimming across, brought back a number of canoes; in these the greater part embarked, landed on the peninsula, then advanced into the village, drove the enemy from their huts up to the fortifications, and continued to annoy them during the whole action. This movement of the Indians rendered it necessary that a part of Coffee's line should take their place.

General Jackson finding that his arrangements were complete, at length yielded to the earnest solicitations of his men to be led to the charge. The regular troops, led by colonel Williams and major Montgomery, were in a moment in possession of the nearest part of the breastworks: the militia accom-

panied them with equal firmness and intrepidity. Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle through the port-holes, they succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be doubtful. The enemy, although many of them fought with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula, was strewed with the slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found, besides those thrown into the river by their friends, or drowned in attempting to escape. Not more than fifty could have escaped. Among the slain was their great prophet Manahoe, and two others of less note. About three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. Jackson's loss was twenty-six white men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded; eighteen Cherokees killed and thirty-six wounded; and five friendly Creeks killed and eleven wounded.

This most decisive victory put an end to the Creek war. The spirit and power of these misguided men were completely broken; Jackson soon after scoured the countries on the Coose and Tallapoose. A party of the enemy, on the latter river, on his approach, fled to Pensacola. The greater part of the Creeks now came forward and threw themselves on the mercy of the victors. A detachment of militia from North and South Carolina, under the command of colonel Pearson, scoured the country on the Alabama, and received the submission of a great number of Creek warriors and their prophets.

In the course of the summer a treaty of peace was dictated to them by Jackson, on severe but just terms. They agreed to yield a portion of their country as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; they conceded the privilege of opening roads through their country, together with the liberty of navigating their rivers. They also stipulated to hold no intercourse with any British or Spanish post, or garrison, and to deliver up the property they had taken from whites or friendly Indians. The general, on the part of the United States, undertook to guarantee their territory, to restore all their prisoners, and in consideration of their destitute situation, to furnish them gratuitously with the necessaries of life, until they could provide for themselves. They also engaged to establish trading houses, and endeavour to bring back the nation to their former state.

It has already been stated, that after the failure of the campaign against the British provinces, the army retired into winter quarters. It remained inactive till the latter part of February. The Secretary at War gave orders to withdraw to Plattsburgh, and that two thousand men should be marched to Sackett's Harbour, under Gen. Brown, with a proportion of field pieces and battering cannon. The general destroyed his barracks, and retired to the place assigned him.

The British detached a large force under Col. Scott, who destroyed the public stores, and pillaged the citizens.

Towards the latter end of March, general Wilkinson determined to erect a battery at a place called Rouse's point, where his engineer had discovered a position from which the enemy's fleet, then laid up at St. John's, might be kept in check. The ice breaking up on lake Champlain sooner than usual, defeated his plan; a body of the enemy, upwards of two thousand strong, on discovering his design had been collected at La Colle mill, three miles from Rouse's point, for the purpose of opposing him. With a view of dislodging this party, and at the same time of forming a diversion in favour of general Brown, who had marched against Niagara, the commander in chief, at the head of about four thousand men, crossed the Canada lines on the thirtieth of March. After dispersing several of the enemy's skirmishing parties, he reached La Colle mill, a large fortified stone house, at which major Hancock commanded. An eighteen pounder was ordered up, but owing to the nature of the ground over which it had to pass, the transportation was found impracticable; a twelve pounder and a five inch howitzer, were therefore substituted. These pieces, under the direction of captain M'Pherson, and lieutenants Larabee and Sheldon, were posted at the distance of two hundred paces from the house, and covered by the second brigade, with part of colonel Clark's command, under general Smith, on the right; and the third brigade, under general Bissel, on the left. Colonel Miller was ordered to take a position with the twelfth and thirteenth regiments, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat; while the reserve, composed of four select corps of the first brigade, was placed under the command of general M'Comb. These arrangements being made, the battery opened upon the house, and the fire was promptly returned. The different corps were greatly exposed to the fire from the house; it was found impossible to effect a breach, although the guns were managed with great skill. Captain M'Pherson was wounded at the commencement of the attack, but continued notwithstanding, at his post, until a second shot had broken his thigh: his next officer, Larabee, was shot through the lungs; lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire until the end of the affair, and behaved in a manner which drew forth the praise of his general.

The British commander, perceiving that the Americans persisted in bombarding the house, made a desperate sortie, and several times charged upon the cannon, in which he was repulsed by the covering troops, and compelled to retire to his fortress with loss. It being now found impracticable to make an impression on this strong building, whose walls were of unusual thickness, the commander in chief, calling in his different

parties, fell back in good order. The loss of the Americans in this affair, was upwards of one hundred and forty in killed and wounded, that of the British is not ascertained."

Many were the difficulties under which the army laboured. Lack of system, a severe climate, sickness, unforeseen expenses, abuses in every department, and want of experience and education in the subalterns; and the disgraceful conduct of many of the frontier inhabitants, in supplying the enemy with provisions, are among the number of misfortunes under which the country laboured. Besides which, the enemy was regularly informed of every thing which transpired on the American side.

"Shortly after the affair of La Colle, the greater part of the British force was collected at St. John's and the Isle Aux Noix, for the purpose of securing the entrance of the squadron into lake Champlain, on the breaking up of the ice. This was effected early in May. Sometime before this, on the suggestion of general Wilkinson, commodore M'Donough had fortified the mouth of Otter river, so as to secure a passage for his flotilla, which then lay at Vergennes, higher up the river, waiting for its armament. This precaution proved of great service. The commodore had laboured, with indefatigable industry, to provide a naval force on this lake, to cope with that of the enemy; the vesels had been built during the autumn and winter, but their armament did not arrive before spring. The first object of the enemy, when they found the navigation open, was to attempt the destruction of the fleet, before it could move upon its element prepared to meet them. On the 12th of May, not long after the erection of the battery on the cape, at the entrance of the river, a bomb vessel and eight large gallies were stationed by the enemy across the creek, for the purpose of blockading the squadron, and at the same time to intercept naval supplies, which it was supposed would be sent by water, for the purpose of completing its armament. Captain Thornton of the light artillery, and lieutenant Cassin, with a number of sailors, were ordered to the defence of the battery. Indications being at the same time discovered of an attempt by the enemy to assail the battery in the rear, general Davis, of the Vermont militia, called part of his brigade, in order to oppose the landing. At daybreak on the 14th, the enemy commenced an attack upon the works, but were so effectually resisted, that they were compelled to withdraw from their position with the loss of two gallies, which they were obliged to abandon. Soon after, the whole squadron moved down the lake, but not without some skirmishing with general Wright of the militia, as they passed Burlington. Commodore M'Donough had attempted to bring some of the American vessels to the mouth of the river, but the

British squadron had disappeared before he could attain his object.

While the naval preparations were making on lake Champlain, the winter and spring were taken up with the preparations for a contest for superiority on lake Ontario. The British converted it, however, into a contest in building the greatest number and the largest ships. At Kingston, a ship of extraordinary size was building: for the enemy no longer trusted, as they had done with other nations, to superior seamanship and valour. Commodore Chauncey was under the necessity of building additional vessels, for the purpose of maintaining as nearly as possible an equality of force. The enemy was, however, not satisfied in endeavouring to conquer us in ship building, they made numerous attempts to destroy by insiduous means, those already built by the Americans. On the twenty-fifth of April, three of the enemy's boats, provided with the means of blowing up the vessels, succeeded in getting close into Sackett's Harbour undiscovered; but before they could execute their purpose, they were detected and fired upon by lieutenant Dudley, the officer of the guard, on which they threw their powder into the lake, and pulled off. Failing in all these attempts, from the vigilance of the Americans, they next formed the determination to intercept the naval stores on their way from Oswego, where they had been deposited. Thither sir James proceeded with his whole fleet, and having on board a large body of troops under general Drummond, proceeded on the fifth of May, with the determination of storming the town and capturing the equipments destined for the new vessels. The British commenced a heavy bombardment, which was kept up for several days; the unexpected and gallant resistance of the garrison, consisting of three hundred men under lieutenant colonel Mitchell, was in vain against such superior force. The schooner Growler, then in Oswego creek to receive the cannon, was sunk to prevent her from being taken, and all the tents that could be procured were pitched on the village side, to give the appearance of a large force of militia. The sailors of the Growler, under lieutenant Pearce, were added to the garrison; the shore battery was commanded by captain Boyle, seconded by lieutenant Legate. At one o'clock, fifteen barges filled with troops, moved towards the shore, preceded by several gunboats, while a heavy cannonade was commenced by the larger vessels. They were so warmly received by the battery on shore, that the boats were twice repulsed, and one of the largest fell into the hands of the Americans.

The squadron now stood off, but this was evidently for the purpose of renewing the attack, in such a manner as to render it effectual. They again approached on the sixth, having re-

solved to land under cover of their ships; they accordingly kept up a heavy fire for three hours, while their land forces, two thousand in number, under general De Watteville, succeeded in gaining the shore, after being gallantly opposed by lieutenant Pearce and his seamen. Colonel Mitchell now abandoned the fort, and joining his corps to the marines and seamen, engaged the enemy's flank, and did great execution. Finding further resistance useless, he fell back, formed his troops, and took up his march to the falls of Oswego, destroying the bridges in his rear. Hitherto, to the inexpressible disappointment of the British, the naval stores had been removed, and all their trouble, and the loss which they sustained, procured them nothing more than a few barrels of provisions and some whiskey. This was purchased with the loss of two hundred and thirty-five men, in killed and wounded; they were certainly entitled to the victory, but they never thought proper to claim it. The loss of the Americans was sixty-nine in killed, wounded and missing; among the first, a promising officer, lieutenant Blaney.

On the evening of the same day, a part of this force proceeded to Pultneyville, and demanded the public stores. The inhabitants were unable to repel the invaders, who indulged themselves in their usual depredations; when genaral Swift, of the New-York militia, opportunely arriving, with a part of his brigade, put them to flight. The British soon after, hearing that the Superior, which had lately been launched, had received her equipments from the interior, broke up the blockade, and returned to Kingston. Another new ship, the Mohawk, was at this time on the stocks, and as she would have to be supplied with her equipments from the same place, it was determined, since the British had disappeared, to transport them by water, and avoid the expense and delay of land transportation. To deceive the enemy, who had numerous gunboats hovering about the different creeks, a report was circulated that it was intended to forward the stores to the Oneida lake. Nineteen barges were loaded at Oswego, and major Appling was despatched by general Gaines, with a detachment to aid captain Woolsey, in their defence. On the twenty-eighth of May, captain Woolsey, finding the coast clear, reached the village of Oswego by sunset, and taking advantage of the darkness of the night, put into the lake. The next day they reached Sandy creek, and ascending it a few miles, despatched a boat to look out for the British on the lake; this boat was discovered by some gun vessels, and immediately chased. Major Appling and captain Woolsey determined to draw them into an ambuscade. As had been anticipated, the enemy pushed their gunboats and cutters up the creek, while a party landed and ascended along the bank. The Americans now rushed suddenly upon them, and in a few mo-

ments, after one fire, by which a number of them were killed and wounded, the whole party was taken prisoners, consisting of four lieutenants of the navy, two lieutenants of marines, and one hundred and thirty men, together with all their boats and cutters. Major Appling, for this affair, was breveted, and his officers, lieutenants Smith, M'Intosh, Calhoun, M'Farland and Armstrong, and ensign Austin, were publicly thanked. The conduct of captain Woolsey and his officers was not less applauded.

"The consequences of this affair, were severely felt by the British; they lost a number of their best seamen and officers, and commodore Chauncey was once more master of the lake. He accordingly sailed out, and several times presented himself before Kingston, but sir James did not think it prudent to stir out, until his large ship of one hundred and twelve guns, then on the stocks, should be completed. This mode of warfare was exceeding expensive, but more to the British than to the Americans; it is ascertained that it cost the former more than twice what was expended by the Americans; in consequence of their greater difficulties of transportation.

"General Brown had, in the mean time, reached the Niagara frontier, and it was expected that the enemy would be immediately expelled from the American territory; but his situation did not permit the attempt, and with the exception of a few partial encounters, tranquillity prevailed along the Niagara frontier during the summer. It would be improper to pass over in silence, however, an affair which took place in this quarter. Colonel Campbell crossed the lake from Erie, with about five hundred men, and landing at Dover, a small village on the Canada side, proceeded to destroy the mills, together with the greater part of the private dwellings. The expedition was undertaken without orders, and his conduct in this affair, though otherwise a meritorious officer, was greatly reprobated, a court of inquiry, at which general Scott presided, was instituted. The court decided, that the destruction of the distilleries and mills might be justified by the usages of war, as they furnished the British troops with their necessary supplies: but with respect to the other part of his conduct, although excused in some measure by the example of the enemy; in the destruction of the villages on the Niagara, it was nevertheless condemned."

Early in the spring, intelligence was received, that a body of regulars, militia and Indians, was collected on the river Thames. Captain Lee succeeded in gaining their rear, and made prisoners of several officers, and among them colonel Baubee, who commanded a party of Indians in their depredations on the frontier of New-York.

"A gallant affair was soon after achieved by captain Holmes,

a youth of the most promising talents, and brother to the governour of the Mississippi territory. With a party of about one hundred and sixty rangers and mounted men, he proceeded on the twenty-first of February against some of the enemy's posts. About the beginning of March, he received intelligence, that a British force, which afterwards proved to be double his own, was descending the river Thames. Captain Holmes, finding himself not in a situation to give battle, from the fatigue which his men had already encountered, and his ignorance of the strength of the enemy's party, fell back a few miles, and chos a strong position, where he was confident of being able to defend himself, until he could obtain the necessary information of the British. He despatched a small body of rangers, for this purpose, but which soon returned, pursued by the enemy, but without being able to learn his strength. The British perceiving the strength of captain Holmes' position, resorted to stratagem for the purpose of drawing him from it. They feigned an attack, and then retreated, taking care not to show more than sixty or seventy men: captain Holmes now pursued, but with caution; and after proceeding about five miles, discovered their main body drawn up to receive him, on which he immediately returned to his former position. Having disposed of his troops in the most judicious manner, he firmly waited for them; being protected in front by a deep ravine, and the approaches on the other sides somewhat difficult. The attack was commenced at the same moment on every point, with savage yells, and the sound of bugles, the regulars charging up the heights from the ravine; the other sides were rapidly assailed by militia and Indians. The first approached within twenty paces of the American lines, against a very destructive fire; but the front section being cut to pieces, those who followed severely wounded, and many of their officers cut down, they retired to the woods, within thirty or forty paces, and the firing continued with great spirit on both sides. The American regulars being uncovered, were ordered to kneel, that the brow of the heights might assist in screening them from the enemy; but the enemy's covering was insufficient, a single tree affording no shelter even to one, from the extended line of the Americans, much less to the squads that stood together. On the other sides, the attack was sustained with equal coolness, and with considerable loss to the foe; the Americans had, on three sides, thrown together some logs hastily, and no charge being made, they could aim their pieces at leisure, with that deadly certainty, which belongs to the backwoodsman.—The British, after an hour of hard fighting, ordered a retreat, and as the night approached, captain Holmes thought it not advisable to pursue: besides, his men were much fatigued, and many of them had nearly worn out their shoes on the hard fro-

zen ground. The American loss on this occasion did not amount to more than six killed and wounded. According to the statement of the British, their loss was sixty-five killed and wounded, besides Indians. In consequence of his good conduct, in this affair, captain Holmes was promoted to the rank of major.

"Hitherto nothing of moment occurred, which could have much influence on the final result of the war. On the ocean, it had been glorious for us; on the lakes and on the frontier, our arms during the last year, had retrieved our former disgraces; and on the sea-coast, the enemy had discovered that it was not an easy matter to make an impression. It is true, the disastrous issue of the campaign against Canada, took away all hope of being able to make an impression on that province, under present circumstances; but the happy termination of the Indian war to the westward, and its success to the south, in some degree afforded a consolation. An important crisis, however, had arrived in the general state of our affairs. The third year of of the war found the situation of the country materially changed. The most disheartening periods of the revolution scarcely presented a state of things more painfully embarrassing. The distress of the northern states, whose subsistence, in a great measure, depended upon their shipping, and those of the people of the south, whose staples had almost ceased to be of any value, together with embarrassments of the banks in the middle states, had begun, at last, to make us feel that we were at war. To a people who had been for years in the most flourishing state, a check to their prosperity, however it might result to their ultimate good, was felt as a positive affliction. To the great body of the farmers, in the interior of the country, the effects of hostilties were rather beneficial; their produce was raised in price, and their lands in value; the wealth of the cities, no longer applied to commerce, was diverted to the interior, and was soon discovered in the improvement of the lands, the increase of the inland towns, and the establishment of manufactures. But the number of those, whom the war distressed or ruined, was proportionally great; and as men are more loud in crying out against calamities, than forward in displaying their good fortune, the unfavourable side of the picture only was exhibited. The philosopher might say, that what was lost to the nation, on the one side, was gained in the other; but this reasoning could have but little weight with the individual sufferers. In several of the New England states, complaints assumed a more serious cast; a convention was talked of, and it was even insinuated, that they meant to secede from the union. This, indeed, would have been an event, which would fill every American bosom with grief; a greater injury to our common country than a thousand wars. The collisions between the state autho-

rities and that of the union, were beginning to produce all the embarrassments which had been predicted by Patrick Henry, at the formation of the constitution. The supposed existence of such a temper, at the period of our utmost need, could not fail to weaken the hands of the administration, and increase the disposition of England to prosecute the war. The embarrassments in our financial system were alarming, and it was confidently predicted that, from a want of funds, the administration would be compelled to yield up the reins of government, or throw the nation upon the mercy of the enemy.

A new event had occurred in Europe, which could not be viewed with indifference, even on these distant shores; and its consequence threatened us with a serious danger. The ambitious monarch of France had been hurled from his throne by the combined powers of Europe, and the house of Bourbon restored. This event was received by some of our citizens with open rejoicing, as though it brought some signal good fortune to this country, or to the human race. To this country it could bring no benefit, for it was not likely that the king of France could, any more than Napoleon, feel a friendship for us, although he might not so cordially hate or despise us. Louis the eighteenth could not be expected to entertain much love for republics, and certainly not for ours, the contagion of whose example is said to have contributed much to that dreadful revolution, in which his family had so severely suffered; indeed, it is natural that a republic, like ours, should not be regarded with much complacency by any monarch; for, to use the expression of Demosthenes, "we are considered as a spy upon their actions." Napoleon, having been already reduced within a reasonable compass, there was no longer any danger of his seizing the ships of England, and transporting several hundred thousand men to make a barren conquest of America; it is more probable that he would have paid a visit to the emperor of China. I am not the advocate of a cold and unfeeling policy. The unfortunate family of the French Bourbons have suffered enough to atone for many errors and faults; and as men, we might be permitted to express our satisfaction, that Providence had deigned to put an end to their miseries. It had, however, become a matter of indifference to us, whether the throne of France was occupied by an emperor or a king, but as Great Britain had claimed the chief merit of this wonderful operation, public rejoicings for the event, had too much the appearance of a rejoicing for the success of our enemies, and for the abstract success of royalty, which, whether of recent or ancient usurpation, ought to be equally nauseous to a republican. The event was, in reality, greatly adverse to our national interests. Fired by the success of the wars of the continent, and extravagantly elated with her

supposed power and greatness, the enemy was at liberty to send her veteran troops and her numerous fleets, to chastise America; while our commissioners were suffered to remain for months in neglect, under a pretence, that despised republicans might wait patiently in the anti-chamber, while Britain was engaged with personages of importance. This turn of affairs, far from producing exultation, ought rather to have depressed the friends of liberty and America. Great Britain was highly incensed that we had not waited, how long no one could tell, with all due patience, under the numerous outrages she had perpetrated for years, until, disengaged from all her European wars, she would have leisure to give us a severe chastisement for daring to assert our rights. It now behoved us to think no more of invading Canada; our northern frontier was to be laid waste, our sea-coast devastated, and the utmost to be expected, was a successful self-defence. In the plenitude of her arrogance, Britain talked of recolonization, and of crippling us for fifty years to come. Such was the situation of America at this eventful period; the time was approaching, which would put to the test the strength of our confederation, and our ability for defence; and and what was still more interesting, the time had come, which would try our attachments to our political institutions, which, although not yet venerable from time, deserved the highest admiration for their justice and wisdom. The people of other nations could not view with indifference, the fate of this asylum and sanctuary of the oppressed and unfortunate throughout the world.

The northern sea-coast, which had thus far experienced little molestation from the enemy, became the object of attack early in the spring. On the seventh of April, a body of sailors and marines, to the number of two hundred, ascended the Connecticut river, as far as Saybrook, where they spiked the cannon, and destroyed the shipping; they proceeded thence to Brockway's ferry, where they did the same; and afterwards, unapprehensive of attack, carelessly remained twenty-four hours. In the meantime, a body of militia, together with a number of marines and sailors, under captain Jones and lieutenant Biddle, had collected for the purpose of cutting off their retreat; but the British, taking advantage of a very dark night, and using muffled oars, escaped to their fleet, after having destroyed two hundred thousand dollars worth of shipping.

About this time the coasting trade was almost destroyed by a British privateer, the Liverpool Packet, which cruised in the sound. Commodore Lewis sailed with a detachment of thirteen gunboats, and succeeded in chasing her off. On his arrival at Saybrook, he found upwards of fifty vessels bound to the eastward, but afraid to venture out. The commodore consented

to take them under convoy, but was not able to promise them protection against the squadron then blockading New London They, however, being disposed to run the risk, he sailed with them on the twenty-fifth, and in the afternoon of the same day was compelled to throw himself between his convoy and a British frigate, a sloop of war and a tender, and kept up a contest, until the coasters had safely reached New London. Having attained his object, he determined to try what he could do with his gunboats against the enemy's ships. Furnaces being hastily constructed, he began to throw hot balls at the enemy's sides, and repeatedly set their ships on fire, without receiving any injury himself. The sloop soon withdrew, and the fire was principally directed against the frigate. One shot passed through her, very near her magazine; her lieutenant, and a great number of her men were already killed; her captain was on the point of striking, when he observed that the gunboats had ceased firing. The night soon after coming on, the gunboats desisted from the attack, determined to wait until morning. At daylight, they perceived the squadron towing away; it was resolved to pursue them, but several other frigates soon made their appearance, and put a stop to this design. This affair together with that of Craney island, revived the discussion on the utility of gunboats in the defence of harbours and the coast. Great services had been rendered by captain Lewis on this as well as on many other occasions.

Formidable squadrons were kept up before the ports of New York, New London and Boston; and the whole eastern coast was exposed to the enemy. The war was carried on here in a very different manner from that to the south. Commodore Hardy would not permit any wanton outrages upon private property, or upon defenceless individuals. In spite, however, of his general demeanour, there were particular instances of the contrary on the part of the officers commanding smaller parties, and actuated by a thirst for plunder. At the towns of Wareham and Scituate, they burned all the vessels at their moorings; and at the former, they set fire to an extensive cotton manufactory. At a place called Boothbay, they met with a spirited resistance, and were repeatedly repulsed in various desperate attacks.

An invasion of a more serious nature was made in July. On the eleventh of that month, sir Thomas Hardy, with a strong force, made a descent on Moose Island, and after taking possession of Eastport, declared all the islands and towns, on the eastern side of Passamaquoddy bay, to appertain to his Britannic majesty, and required the inhabitants to appear within seven days and take the oath of allegiance. About two thirds of the inhabitants submitted; but in the month of August, the council

of the province of New Brunswick declared, that notwithstanding the oath of allegiance, they should be considered as a conquered people, and placed under military government. Eastport was soon after strongly fortified; but it was found extremely difficult for the enemy to subsist his troops, and the desertions were so frequent as to render it almost impossible to keep up a garrison.

The commodore soon after sailed with a part of his squadron, for the purpose of attacking Stonington. The appearance of this force excited much alarm, which was not diminished, when they received a message from the commodore, to remove the women and children, as he had received orders to reduce the place to ashes. The inhabitants, although with very trifling means of defence, determined to make an attempt to save their property. The handful of militia of the place, repaired to a small battery erected on the shore, and to a breastwork thrown up for musketry, and at the same time despatched an express to obtain assistance from general Cushing, commanding at New London. In the evening, five barges and a large launch, filled with men, approached the shore, under cover of a heavy fire from the ships. The Americans, reserving their fire until the enemy were within short grape distance, opened their two eighteen-pounders, and soon compelled the invaders to retire out of the reach of their battery. They next proceeded to another part of the town, which they supposed defenceless, but a part of the militia being detached thither with a six-pounder, the barges were again repulsed; the enemy then retired to their ships, but determined to renew the attack in the morning; and in the meantime, kept up a bombardment until midnight. The next morning it was discovered, that one of the enemy's vessels had approached within pistol shot of the battery, and the barges advanced in still greater numbers than the day before; these were again gallantly repulsed, and the vessel driven from her anchorage. The squadron then renewed the bombardment of the town, but without effect; and on the twelfth, the commodore thought proper to retire. The inhabitants, after this gallant defence, which, considering the means with which it was effected, and the great disparity of force opposed to them, deserves much praise, once more occupied their dwellings in security.

It was not long after this, that the British occupied all that part of the district of Maine between Penobscot river and Passamaquoddy bay, and declared it to be held as a colony.

On the first of September, the governor of Nova Scotia, and admiral Griffith entered the Penobscot river, and took possession of Castine, which the garrison had previously evacuated. A proclamation was then issued, declaring that possession of that

possession of that part of the province of Maine east of the Penobscot, was formally taken, in the name of his Britannic majesty. The country, which contained about thirty thousand inhabitants, was then gradually occupied, and possessed until the conclusion of the war.

The naval incidents of eighteen hundred and fourteen, are as grateful to American feelings as those of the two former years. An occurrence took place in the very beginning of the year, which afforded to us as much cause for triumph, as of mortification to the enemy. In the month of February, commodore Rodgers, on his return from a cruise in the President, found himself off Sandy Hook, within a short distance of three large British ships of war, the nearest of which was the Plantagenet, a seventy-four. Believing that an engagement with one or all of them, was unavoidable, he cleared his ship for action, determining not to surrender without selling his ship as dearly as he could. But notwithstanding he fired several guns to windward, as a proof of his willingness to engage, the British vessels did not think proper to approach, and he safely reached New York. Captain Lloyd, of the Plantagenet, after returning to England, accounted for his conduct, by alleging a mutiny in his ship, and several of his sailors were executed on the charge.

Another affair took place soon after, which furnished a still stronger proof of the now acknowledged superiority of America upon the ocean, an acknowledgement more strongly expressed than by words. In the month of April, captain Stewart was also on his return in the Constitution, after a cruise, when he was chased by two British frigates and a brig, but escaped by superior seamanship, into Marblehead. Some time before, after capturing the public schooner Picton, he fell in with the British frigate La Pique, captain Maitland, who fled on the approach of the Constitution, and finally escaped during the night, after a long chase. Captain Maitland was complimented by the board of admiralty, for thus obeying their instructions, in not fighting an American frigate singly: it having been determined that not less than two frigates could be a match for an American.

The enemy had become equally shy of the gunboat flotilla. Commodore Lewis repeatedly beat off the British vessels near Sandy Hook, and facilitated the return of the American ships. The Regent, loaded with a very valuable cargo, was chased by the Belvidera, when commodore Lewis throwing himself with eleven of his gunboats between them, the frigate moved off without returning the shot of the gunboats.

That brave and adventurous seaman, commodore Porter, terminated this year his glorious cruise in the Pacific. From Lima, in the neighbourhood of which he had chastised the pi-

rates of the ship Nereyda, he proceeded to the Gallipagos, where he cruised from April, 1813, until October: and in the course of that time captured twelve British armed whale ships, carrying in all one hundred and seven guns, and three hundred and two men.

Several of these were equipped as American cruisers and store ships; and the Atlantic, now called the Essex Junior, of twenty guns and sixty men, was assigned to lieutenant Downes. The prizes which were to be laid up, were convoyed by this officer to Valparaiso. On his return, he brought intelligence to commodore Porter, that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate and two sloops of war, and a store ship of twenty guns, had sailed in quest of the Essex. The commodore, having been almost a year at sea, with little intermission, found it absolutely necessary that his ship should undergo considerable repairs. With this view, he steered to the island of Nooaheevah, or Madison's island, which he so named in honour of the president.

Here he found a fine bay, and a situation in every respect suitable to his wishes, the inhabitants apparently friendly. But it was not long before he found that his situation would be unsafe, in consequence of a war which prevailed between the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, and those among whom he had been received. These insisted upon his joining them in their wars, and threatened to drive him away if he did not. The commodore was compelled, by a regard to his own safety, to send a party of sailors with the natives, who, by their assistance defeated their enemies; and by the interference of the commodore, a peace was brought about between them. In consequence of this, the natives erected a village for the commodore, freely traded with him for provisions, and for some time the greatest harmony prevailed.

His safety was again threatened by the conduct of the Typees, an inland tribe, one of the most warlike on the island, and which still continued hostile, and who were continually urging the friendly Indians to destroy the strangers.

The commodore found his situation growing every day more critical. He therefore resolved to pursue the course necessary to ensure his safety, and which has always been held justifiable in our intercourse with uncivilzed men, who are only to be restrained from violence and injustice by terror. He had succeeded thus far by peaceable means, and by the permission of the natives, in placing his vessel in a state to be repaired; but should the tribes around him become inimical, (and what confidence can any one repose in the faith of a savage, who regards only force,) he might be in greater danger in his present situation. He was very unwilling to engage in war with them; to

prevent the necessity, he sent them a present, and requested that they would remain quiet and be at peace. This had no other effect than to increase their insolence to the Americans, whom they represented as a cowardly race, or they would not have condescended to beg for peace. This enmity was naturally enough engendered by their jealousy of the tribes who had the benefit of the traffic with the whites, and by this means obtained articles from them, according to their estimation, of great value. The commodore now discovered, that his safety depended entirely upon making these people feel his strength, as it was impossible for him, in his present situation, to leave the island until his vessel could be repaired, and while the greater part of his effects were actually on shore. He therefore set off, at the head of thirty-five men, against these people, determined to give them battle, and, by shewing the efficacy of his weapons, compel to be at peace. The tribes, heretofore friendly, were on the point of breaking out into hostilities, and were only induced to wait the result of this expedition, of which they were little more than silent spectators. The commodore had in vain endeavoured to convince them of the destructive nature of his fire-arms, by shooting at rocks and trees; war was absolutely unavoidable. But the small force with which he marched, was insufficient to make any impression. Their country being exceedingly mountainous and abounding in thickets, rendered it easy for them to escape. The commodore was, therefore, compelled to return in a worse situation than before. To prevent the friendly Indians from rising, he found it necessary to inform them, that he would proceed the next day with the greater part of his men. A large body was now marched across the mountains, notwithstanding the extreme difficulties of the route, and penetrated into their valley; but the natives, as usual, took refuge in their inaccessible fastnesses. The only mode of causing them to feel the consequences of their conduct, was in the destruction of their villages; nine of them were accordingly burnt, after which the party retreated. The Typees now gladly accepted terms of peace, and all the tribes on the island, soon after, were reconciled to each other; a circumstance which the oldest amongst them did not recollect to have seen; and they vied with each other in friendship towards the whites while the commodore remained.

We have now to record a most singular fact, and one which speaks volumes for the prowess of our little navy.

During the third year, every naval combat, without a single exception, where there was any thing like an equality of force, terminated in favour of the Americans. The sloop of war Peacock, launched in October, performed a cruise during the winter, and on her return was chased into St. Mary's. She soon

after put to sea again, and on the twenty-ninth of April discovered the brig of war Epervier, captain Wales, having several vessels under convoy. Captain Warrington engaged the Epervier, while the others were making their escape. At the first broadside, the foreyard of the Peacock was totally disabled by two round shot in the starboard quarter. By this she was deprived of the use of her fore and fore-topsail, and was obliged to keep aloof during the remainder of the action, which lasted forty-two minutes. In this time she received considerable damage in her rigging, but her hull was not at all injured. The Epervier struck, having five feet water in her hold, her topmasts over her side, her main boom shot away, her foremast cut nearly in two, her rigging and stays shot away, her hull pierced by forty-five shot, twenty of which were within a foot of her water line. Eleven of her crew were killed, and her first lieutenant and fourteen men wounded. She was immediately taken possession of by lieutenant Nicholson, first officer of the Peacock, who with lieutenant Vorhees, of the same ship, had been already distinguished in another naval action. The sum of one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars in specie was found in her, and transferred to the Peacock. Captain Warrington immediately repaired, with his prize to one of the southern ports. The day following the captain discovered two frigates in chase. At the suggestion of lieutenant Nicholson, he took all the prisoners on board the Peacock, and leaving a sufficient number on board the Epervier for the purpose of navigating her, he directed her to seek the nearest port. By skillful seamanship the captain succeeded in escaping from the enemy's ships, and reached Savannah, where he found his prize. Lieutenant Nicholson, by his good management, had brought her in, after encountering very great difficulties.

The new sloop of war Wasp, captainly Blakely, sailed from Portsmouth on the first of May, and after capturing seven merchantmen, fell in with the British brig of war the Reindeer, captain Manners, which she captured after an action of eigteen minutes. On the sixth of July, being in chase of two vessels, he discovered the Reindeer, and immediately altered his course, and hauled by the wind in chase of her. At fifteen minutes past one, captain Blakely prepared for action; but it was not before fifteen minutes after three, in consequence of their manœvreing, and the endeavours of the Reindeer to escape, that they approached sufficiently near to engage. Several guns were fired from the Wasp before her antagonist could bring her guns to bear; her helm was then put alee, and at twenty-six minutes after three, captain Blakely commenced the action with his after carronades on the starboard side, and fired in succession. Shortly after, the larboard bow coming in contact

with the Wasp, captain Manners gave orders to board, but the attempt was gallantly repulsed by the crew of the Wasp, and the enemy was several times repelled; at forty-four minutes past three, orders were given to board in turn. Throwing themselves with promtitude upon her deck, they succeeded in the execution of their orders; and at forty minutes past four the flag of the enemy's ship came down. She was almost cut to pieces, and half her crew was killed and wounded. The loss of the Wasp was five killed and twenty-one wounded; among the latter, midshipmen Langdon and Toscan, both of whom expired some days after. The Reindeer having been found altogether unmanageable, was blown up, and captain Blakely steered for L'Orient, to provide for the wounded of both crews.

After leaving L'Orient, and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, captain Blakely fell in with a fleet of ten sail, under convoy of the Armada seventy four and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron a brig laden with brass and iron cannon and military stores, from Gibraltar; after taking out the prisoners and setting her on fire, he endeavoured to cut out another, but was chased off by the seventy four. In the evening, at half past six, he descried two vessels, one on his starboard and one on his larboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At seven she was discovered to be a brig of war, and at twenty nine minutes past nine she was under the lee bow of the Wasp. An action soon after commenced, which lasted until ten o'clock, when captain Blakely, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and demanded if he had surrendered. No answer being returned, he commenced firing; and the enemy returned broadside for broadside for twelve minutes, when, perceiving that the two last were not returned, he hailed again, and was informed that she was sinking, and that her commander had struck. Before the Wasp's boat could be lowered, a second brig of war was discovered: the crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and the Wasp was standing to for the approach of the stranger, when two other brigs appeared: he now made sail, and endeavoured to draw the first one after him, but without effect. The name of the prize has since been ascertained to have been the Avon, captain Arbuthnot, of the same force as the Reindeer. She sunk immediately after the last man had been taken out of her. She had eight killed and thirty one wounded, including her captain and several other officers.

The Wasp soon repaired her damage, and continued on her cruise. On the twenty first of September, she captured, off the Madeiras, her thirteenth prize, the British brig Atalanta, eight guns, and the only one she sent into port. The return of

this vessel, after her brilliant cruise, was for a long time fondly looked for by our country; but all hope has at last vanished of ever seeing her again. There is but little doubt that the brave commander and the gallant crew have found a common grave in the waste of ocean; but they will always live in the fond gratitude and recollection of their country.

The loss of the frigate President was severely felt at the time, of which the following is an unvarnished tale.

The blockade of commodore Decatur's squadron at New London, having been continued until after the season had passed in which there existed any prospect of escape, the ships were ordered up the river and dismantled, while the commodore with his crew were transferred to the President, then at New York. A cruise was contemplated, in conjunction with the Peacock, the Hornet, and the Tom Bowline store ship. The commodore thinking it more safe to venture out singly, appointed a place of rendezvous, and ordered the other vessels to follow. In consequence of the negligence of the pilot, the President struck upon the bar, and remained there thumping for two hours, by which her ballast was deranged, and her trim for sailing entirely lost. The course of the wind prevented from returning into port; he put to sea trusting to the excellence of his vessel. At daylight he fell in with a British squadron, consisting of the Endymion, Tenedos and Pomone frigates, and the Majestick razee. In spite of every exertion they gained upon him; the foremost, the Endymion, got close under his quarters and commenced firing. The commodore determined to bear up and engage her, with the intention of carrying her by boarding, and afterwards escaping in her, and abandoning his own ship. In this he was prevented by the manœuvreing of the enemy, who protracted the engagement for two hours, until the rest of the squadron were fast gaining upon them. He now assailed the Endymion, and in a short time completely silenced her, leaving her a wreck. The President was also considerably damaged, having lost twenty five men killed and wounded; among the former, lieutenants Babit and Hamilton; and acting lieutenant Howell; among the latter, the commodore himself, and midshipman Dale, who afterwards died. On the approach of the squadron, the gallaut commodore, unwilling to sacrifice the lives of his men in a useless contest, on receiving the fire of the nearest frigate, surrendered. On this occasion, we cannot pass in silence the dishonourable conduct of the British officers of the navy, where such ought least to have been expected. The generous and heroick character of Decatur is acknowledged wherever the American flag is known, and requires no testimony in its support, for the British themselves have often declared their admiration of this chivalrous

officer. The commodore was taken on boarrd the Endymion, for the purpose of acting the miserable farce of surrendering his sword to the officer of a frigate of equal size, but which would have fallen into the hands of the commodore, but for the approach of the squadron. Decatur indignantly refused to give up his sword to any one but the commander of the squadron. Another artifice was actually resorted to, in order to satisfy the good people of England that the President was a seventy four in disguise: she was lightened laid in dock, along side of an old seventy four, diminished to appearance by being deeply laden. Thus it seems, a British frigate had captured an American seventy four. The naval superiority of Great Britein was therefore no longer doubted.

The following account of several naval victories seems almost incredible, but they are too well authenticated to leave a doubt on the mind of those who are willing to credit on the best of human testimony.

Not the least amongst the exploits of our naval heroes, was the capture of two of the enemy's ships of war by the Constitution, Captain Stewart. Having sailed on a cruise, he discovered two ships, one of which bore up for the Constitution, but soon after changed her course, to join her consort. The Constitution gave chase to both, and at six P. M. ranged ahead of the sternmost, brought her on the quarter, her consort on the bow, and opened a broadside, which was immediately returned. An exchange of broadsides continued until both ships were enveloped in smoke; upon the clearing away of which, the Constitution finding herself abreast of the headmost ship, captain Stewart ordered both sides to be manned, backed topsails, and dropped into his first position. The ship on the bow backed sails also. The Constitution's broadsides were then fired from the larboard battery, and in a few moments the ship on the bow, perceiving her errour in getting sternboard, filled away with the intention of tacking athwart the bows of the Constitution, while the other fell off entirely unmanageable. The Constitution then filled away in pursuit of the former, and coming within a hundred yards, gave her several raknig broadsides, and so crippled her that no further apprehensions were entertained of her ability to escape; the captain therefore returned to the first which immediately struck. Possession was then taken of her by lieutenant Hoffman, and proved to be the frigate Cyane, captain Gordon Falcon, of thirty four guns. Captain Stewart then steered in pursuit of the other vessel, and after a short resistance, in which she suffered considerably, she struck with five feet water in her hold. She proved to be the sloop of war Levant, of eighteen thirty two pound corronades. The loss on

board the two ships amounted to about eighty in killed and wounded, on board the Constitution there were four killed and eleven wounded; but the ship received a very trifling injury.—On the tenth of March, captain Stewart entered the harbour of Port Praya, with his prizes, and on the eleventh a British squadron of two sixty gun ships and a frigat,e appeared off the entrance of the harbour; captain Stewart, having no faith in his security, in this neutral port, made sail with his prize the Cyane, and though closely pursued, had the good fortune to escape into the United States. The Levant was recaptured in the Portuguese port, in contempt of the neutral state. These are acts of injustice, in which no nation can ever prosper.

The Peacock, Hornet, and Tom Bowline, left New York a few days after the President, without having received information of her capture. On the 23d of January, 1815, the Hornet parted company, and directed her course to Tristan d'Acuna, the place of rendezvous. On the 23d of March, she descried the British brig Penguin, captain Dickinson, of eighteen guns and a twelve pound carronade, to the eastward and southward of the island. Captain Biddle hove to, while the Penguin bore down; at forty minutes past one, the British vessel commenced the engagement. The firing was hotly kept up for fifteen minutes, the Penguin gradually nearing the Hornet with the intention to board, her captain having given orders for this purpose, but was killed by a grape shot: her lieutenant then bore her up, and running her bowsprit between the main and mizzen rigging of the Hornet, gave orders to board. His men, however, perceiving the crew of the Hornet ready to receive them, refused to follow him. At this moment, the heavy swell of the sea lifted the Hornet ahead, and the enemy's bowsprit carried away her mizzen shrouds and spanker boom, and the Penguin hung upon the Hornet's quarter, with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit. Her commander then called out that he had surrendered, and captain Biddle ordered his men to cease firing. At this moment an officer of the Hornet called to captain Biddle, that a man was taking aim at him in the enemy's shrouds; he had scarcely changed his position, when a musket ball struck him in the neck, and wounded him severely. Two marines immediately levelled their pieces at the wretch, and killed him before he brought his gun from his shoulder.—The Penguin had by that time got clear of the Hornet, and the latter wore round to give the enemy a fresh broadside, when they cried out a second time that they had surrendered. It was with great difficulty that captain Biddle could restrain his crew, who were exasperated at the conduct of the enemy. In twenty-two minutes after the commencement of the action, she was taken possession of by lieutenant Mayo, of the Hornet

The Penguin was so much injured, that captain Biddle determined on taking out her crew, and scuttling her; and afterwards sent off his prisoners by the Tom Bowline, which by this time had joined him with the Peacock. The enemy lost fourteen in killed, and twenty-eight woundad; the Hornet one killed, and eleven wounded; among the latter, her lieutenant, Conner, dangerously.

Captain Biddle, being compelled to part from the Peacock, by the appearance of a British ship of the line, after being closely pursued for several days, effected his escape into St. Salvador, where the news of peace soon after arrived. The capture of the Cyane, the Levant, and the Penguin, took place before the expiration of the time limited by the second article of the treaty of peace.

The exploits of the privateers continued to rival those of our national vessels. In one instance the enemy was compelled to pay dearly for his disregard of the sanctuary of a neutral port. The privateer Armstrong lay at anchor in the harbour of Fayal, when a British squadron, consisting of the Carnation, the Plantagenet, and the Rota hove in sight. Captain Reid, of the privateer, discovering by the light of the moon that the enemy had put out his barges, and was preparing to attack him, cleared for action, and moved near the shore. Four boats, filled with men approached, and making no answer on being hailed, a fire was opened upon them, which was returned, but they soon called out for quarters, and were permitted to haul off.—They then prepared for a more formidable attack; the privateer was now anchored within a cable's length of the shore, and within pistol shot of the castle. The next day they sent a fleet of boats, supported by the Carnation, which stood before the harbour, to prevent the escape of the privateer. At midnight the boats approached a second time, to the number of twelve or fourteen, manned with several hundred men. They were suffered to approach along side of the privateer; and without waiting an attack; they were assailed with such astonishing fury, that in forty minutes scarcely a man of them was left alive. During these attacks the shores were lined with the inhabitants, who from the brightness of the moon, had a full view of the scene. The governor, with the first people of the place, stood by and saw the whole affair. After the second attack, the governor sent a note to the commander of the Plantagenet, captain Lloyd, requesting him to desist, but was answered that he determined to have the privateer at the risk of knocking down the town. The American consul having communicated this information to captain Reid, he ordered his crew to save their effects as fast as possible, and to carry the dead and wounded on shore. At daylight the Carnation stood close to

the Armstrong, and commenced a heavy fire; but being considerably cut up by the privateer, she hauled off to repair. Captain Reid now thinking it useless to protract the contest, on her reappearance, scuttled his vessel and escaped to shore. The British loss amounted to the astonishing number of one hundred and twenty killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded; that of the Americans was only two killed and seven wounded. Several houses in the town were destroyed, and some of the inhabitants wounded.

Before closing this chapter, it may not be improper to make a few remarks on war generally. In its most *civilized* modes of destruction, it is indeed a dreadful scourge. The distress which it occasions, is incalculable and immeasurable; and we may venture a declaration, that all the benefit ever derived from the practice of mutual destruction, can never balance the evils, even could they be realized.

That the mode of savage warfare is more dreadful than that of the more civilized, is undoubted; but the inference is not therefore in favour of hostilities, in any degree. That the loss of blood, and treasure, and moral feeling, are more than a fair equivalent for any supposed benefits in expectation, is evident to every reflecting mind, even without bringing into the account the dreadful inroads which it makes in the domestic circle. But, if we add to this, the violence which it does to the principles of the Christian religion, who shall fathom it?

CHAPTER XV.

Operations of the Army on the Frontiers.

General Brown and his officers were employed in disciplining the troops, and collecting forces, destined to dislodge the British from the American posts which they still occupied. In the beginning of July, the American forces amounted to but two brigades of regulars, and one of New York volunteers, under generals Porter and Swift, with a few Indians.

In the meantime, the force of the enemy, under general Drummond, had been greatly increased, by the addition of a number of veteran regiments, which since the pacification of Europe, Great Britain had been enabled to send to this country.

The first attack was on Fort Erie, which was garrisoned by one hundred and seventy men, which was taken by surprise.

The second attempt was upon major-general Riall, who occupied an entrenched camp at Chippewa. This led to the first regular pitched battle during the war, and victory declared for the Americans, and the British were compelled to retire into the camp.

The events of the war now began to thicken, and its character assumed the most sanguinary aspect. The victory already obtained by the Americans over men superior in numbers and discipline, enraged general Drummond to madness. But the enemy was obliged to fall back to Queenstown, and finally took post at Burlington heights. The flush of victory on one side, and the pride of military glory on the other, led to deeds of intrepid daring, unexampled in the former progress of the war. Skirmishing was constant and severe, and every movement seemed to be of a decisive character. In these rencontres, the loss on both sides, especially of officers, was very great.

A specimen of the obstinate perseverance of the American troops, was exhibited near the cataracts of Niagara, which has few parallels. The enemy occupied an eminence well fortified, and defended by thrice the number of men mustered by the Americans, while the latter sustained the unequal conflict more than an hour, when orders were given to *advance, and charge the enemy's heights*, and break the British line. But the order was countermanded.

The British now pressed forward on the ninth, which with wonderful firmness withstood the attack of their overwhelming numbers; but reduced at length to nearly one half, and being compelled at every moment to repel fresh charges of the British, colonel Leavenworth despatched a messenger to general Scott, to communicate its condition. The general rode up in person, roused the flagging spirits of his brave men with the pleasing intelligence, that reinforcements were expected every moment, and besought them to hold their ground. Lieutenant Riddle, already well known as a reconnoitering officer, was the first to come to the assistance of his fellow soldiers, having been drawn to the place by the sound of the cannon, while out with a scouting party. The same circumstance induced general Brown to proceed rapidly to the scene of action, giving orders to general Ripley to follow, with the second brigade. On his way he was met by major Jones, and from his information, he was induced to order up general Porter, with the volunteers, together with the artillery.

So far, the Americans had repelled every attack with the most unyielding courage, but the situation of the brigade was very critical. The desperate efforts of the troops led general Riall to overrate the numbers to which he was opposed, and he sent to general Drummond for reinforcements.

About this time an awful pause ensued between the two armies; for a time no sound broke upon the stillness of the night, but the groans of the wounded, mingling with the distant din of the cataract of Niagara. The shattered regiments were consolidated into one brigade, and placed as a reserve under colonel Brady, who, though severely wounded, refused to quit the field. The silence was once more interrupted by the arrival of General Ripley's brigade, major Hindman's artillery, and general Porter's volunteers, and at the same time of general Drummond, with reinforcements.

In the meantime, that accomplished young officer, major Jessup, who had been ordered in the early part of the action, to take post on the right, had succeeded, during the engagement, after encountering great difficulty, in turning the left flank of the enemy. At the present moment, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and the incaution of the enemy, he threw his regiment in the rear of their reserve, and surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men, that his progress was greatly impeded. The laws of war would have justified him in putting them to death: "but the laurel, in his opinion, was most glorious when entwined by the hand of mercy;" he therefore spared them, under circumstances where they certainly would not have spared him. One of his officers, captain Ketchum, had the good fortune to make prisoner of general Riall, and of the aid of general Drummond; the latter a most fortunate circumstance, as it prevented the concentration of the British force, contemplated by that officer, before the Americans were prepared for his reception. After disposing of his prisoners, major Jessup felt his way to the place where the hottest fire was kept up on the brigade to which he belonged, and drew up his regiment behind a fence on the side of the Queenstown road, but in the rear of a party of British infantry, drawn up on the opposite side of the same road; he suddenly gave them a destructive fire, on which they broke and fled. "The major," says general Brown, "showed himself to his own army in a blaze of fire." He was ordered to form on the right of the second brigade.

The following instance of generalship, by which this sanguinary contest was decided, is of so daring a nature, and so completely developes the American character, that it will be inserted entire.

General Ripley's brigade had by this time been formed for action, when orders were given for it to advance to the support of general Scott, against whom a fire was now directed, which he could not long withstand. General Ripley, with the quick discernment which characterizes the real commander, seeing that too much time would be lost before he could make his way

through the skirt of the woods, in the darkness of the night, decided at once upon his own responsibility, to adopt the only measure from which he saw a hope; and which being made known to the commander in chief, he instantly sanctioned.

The enemy's artillery occupied a hill, which was the key to the whole position, and it would be in vain to hope for victory, while they were permitted to retain it.

Addressing himself to colonel Miller, he inquired whether he could storm the batteries at the head of the twenty-first, while he would himself support him with the younger regiment, the twenty-third. To this the wary, but intrepid veteran replied, in an unaffected phrase, I WILL TRY, SIR;—words, which were afterwards given as the motto of his regiment.

The twenty-third was formed in close column, under its commander, Major M'Farland, and the first regiment, under colonel Nicholas, was left to keep the infantry in check. The two regiments moved on to one of the most perilous charges ever attempted; the whole of the artillery opened upon them as they advanced, supported by a powerful line of infantry. The twenty-first advanced steadily to its purpose; the twenty-third faultered on receiving the deadly fire of the enemy, but was soon rallied by the personal exertions of general Ripley. When within a hundred yards of the summit, they received another dreadful discharge, by which major M'Farland was killed, and the command devolved on Major Brooks. To the amazement of the British, the intrepid Miller firmly advanced, until within a few paces of their line, when he impetuously charged upon the artillery, which, after a short but desperate resistance, yielded their whole battery, and the American line was in a moment formed in the rear, upon the ground previously occupied by the British infantry.

During the charge, general Riall was taken prisoner, and the effect may easily be imagined. But this brilliant exploit seemed to spur on the enemy to redoubled exertions. Being reinforced, the British marched with quick step on the Americans, who reserved their fire, until it could become deadly. The whole British division came within twenty paces of the lines, when the well directed fire from our troops put them into confusion. But they rallied to the attack, and the conflict became tremendous. But the enemy yielded, and retired down the hill. The contest was, however, soon renewed by the British, with the same results.

Disheartened by these repeated defeats, the British were on the point of yielding the contest, when they received fresh reinforcements from fort Niagara, which revived their spirits, and induced them to make another and still more desperate struggle. After taking an hour to refresh themselves, and recovering from

their fatigue, they advanced with a new and more extended line, and with confident hopes of being able to overpower the Americans, who thus far had been denied both refreshment and repose.

Our countrymen had stood to their arms during all this time, their canteens exhausted, and many almost fainting with thirst; and from the long interval, they had begun to cherish hopes that the enemy had yielded. In this they were disappointed; but on discovering the approach of the British, their courageous spirit returned, and they resolved never to yield the glorious trophies of their victory, until they could contend no longer.

The British delivered their fire at the same distance as on the last onset, which was returned by the Americans with the same deadly effect; but they did not fall back with the same precipitation; a fresh line supplied the place of the first, and the whole steadily advanced.

A conflict, dreadful beyond description, ensued; the twenty-first, under its brave leader, firmly withstood the shock. The right and left repeatedly fell back, but were again rallied by the general, by colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jessup. At length the two lines closed with each other on the very summit of the hill, which they contested with terrific violence at the point of the bayonet.

Such was the obstinacy of the contest, that many battalions, on both sides, were forced back, and the contending parties became mingled with each other. Nothing could exceed the desperation of the conflict, at the point where the cannon was stationed. The enemy having forced himself into the very midst of major Hindman's artillery, this officer was compelled to spike two of his pieces, and was warmly engaged across the carriages and guns. General Ripley now pressing upon the enemy's flanks, compelled them to give way, and the centre soon following the example, the whole British line fled a third time, and no exertions of their officers could restrain them, until they placed themselves out of the reach of the musketry and artillery. The British being now completely beaten, retired beyond the borders of the field, leaving their dead and wounded.

The loss on this occasion was in proportion to the obstinacy of the conflict, the whole being seventeen hundred and twenty-nine; of which the British amounted to twenty-seven more than the Americans.

The intention of the American commander was to renew the action in the morning, but finding that he had but fifteen hundred men fit for duty, and that the British were drawn up in considerable force, general Ripley determined not to commence an attack. He then retreated to Erie, and extended its

defences. Having been reinforced by a thousand men, the enemy appeared before Fort Erie on the 3d of August, and commenced with regular approaches. By the 7th, the defences were sufficient to keep the enemy at bay. Until the 14th, the cannonade was incessant, and the enemy gained ground, but in skirmishes, the Americans were generally victorious.

General Gaines now commanded at Erie, and colonel Drummond was preparing to assail him. At half past two in the morning, the attack was commenced by three columns. On the second attempt, the British gained the parapet, and the enemy received the orders of colonel Drummond, to *give no quarter!* The order was faithfully executed, and a terrible strife ensued. Colonel Drummond was shot in the breast, but the enemy still maintained their position; but they were finally defeated.

The British loss in this assault was two hundred and twenty-two killed, including fourteen officers of distinction, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners. The Amercians lost seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and ten prisoners.

Nothing further of particular importance transpired, until the seventeenth of September, when General Brown, observing that the enemy had just completed a battery, which could open a most destructive fire the next day, planned a sortie, which has been considered a military chef d'œuvre. The British force consisted of three brigades, of one thousand five hundred men each, one of which was stationed at the works in front of fort Erie, the other two occupied a camp two miles in the rear. The design of general Brown was to "storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and roughly handle the brigade on duty, before those in reserve could be brought up." A road had previously been opened by lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, in a circuitous course through the woods, within pistol shot of the flank of the line of batteries, and with such secresy as to have escaped the notice of the enemy.

At two o'clock, the troops were drawn up in readiness to make the sortie. The division commanded by general Porter, was composed of riflemen and Indians under colonel Gibson, and two columns, one on the right, commanded by colonel Wood, the left commanded by General Davis, of the New York militia; this was to proceed through the woods, by the road which had been opened; while the right division of the troops, in the ravine already mentioned, was to be stationed between the fort and the enemy's works, under general Miller, with orders not to advance until general Porter should have engaged their flank.

The command of general Porter advanced with so much co-

lority and caution, that when they rushed upon the enemy's flank, they gave the first intimation of their approach. A severe conflict for a moment ensued, in which those gallant officers, colonel Gibson and colonel Wood, fell at the head of their columns, and the command devolved on lieutenant colonel M'Donald and Major Brooks. In thirty minutes possession was taken of both batteries in this quarter, together with a block-house in the rear, and the garrison made prisoners. Three twenty-four pounders were rendered useless, and their magazine blown up by lieutenant Riddle, who narrowly escaped the effects of the explosion. At this moment the division of general Miller came up; general Brown having heard the firing had ordered it to advance. In conjunction with colonel Gibson's column, he pierced between the second and third line of batteries, and after a severe contest, carried the first of these. In this assault general Davis fell, at the head of his volunteers. The whole of these batteries and the two blockhouses being in the possession of the Americans, general Miller's division inclined to the more formidable batteries toward the lake shore. At this moment they were joined by the reserve under general Ripley. Here the resistance was more obstinate, the work being exceedingly intricate, from the successive lines of entrenchments, contrived with studied complexity; a constant use of the bayonet was the only mode of assailing them; the enemy had, also, by this time, received considerable reinforcements. General Miller continued to advance, although suffering severe loss in some of his valuable officers: colonel Aspinwall was badly wounded, and major Trimble dangerously. The twenty-first, under lieutenant colonel Upham, forming a part of the reserve, and part of the seventeenth, uniting with the corps of General Miller, charged rapidly upon the remaining battery, which was instantly abandoned by the British infantry and artillery. General Ripley now ordered a line to be formed, for the protection of the detachments engaged in destroying the batteries, and was engaged in making arrangements for following up, against the rear of general Drummond, the success which had so far transcended expectation, when he received a wound in the neck, and fell by the side of major Brooks; he was immediately transported to the fort. The objects of the sortie having been completely effected, general Miller called in his detachments, and retired in good order, with the prisoners and the trophies of this signal exploit.

The American loss in this affair was five hundred and eleven, that of the enemy upwards of a thousand, besides their cannon.

On the eighteenth of October a detachment of nine hundred Americans was ordered to destroy some stores at Lyon's creek, which they effected, after encountering a party of twelve hun-

dred. The object was effected, after the loss of sixty-seven killed, wounded and missing.

During the season, several expeditions were planned, but to little purpose. Major Croghan commanded one destined to regain Michilimackinack, but the main object was unsuccessful. He effected a landing, but his force was too feeble, and the plan was given up as hopeless. He merely destroyed the establishments at St. Mary's and St. Joseph. General M'Arthur made an incursion into Canada, dispersing some detachments, destroying their stores, and taking one hundred and fifty prisoners, returned without loss.

The shifting scenes of this war, carried on over a surface so extensive, and with objects so various, once more brings us back to the Atlantic sea coast. With the return of spring, the British renewed their practice of petty plundreing and savage devastation on the waters of the Chesapeake, but carrying it to an extent still greater than the year before. The flotilla already spoken of, for the defence of the inlets and smaller rivers, consisting of a cutter, two gunboats, and nine barges, was placed under the command of that gallant veteran, commodore Barney, and who, on several occasions, severely repressed the inroads of the enemy. On the first of June, he gave chase to two of the enemy's schooners, but on the appearance of a large ship, which despatched a number of barges to cut him off, the commodore ordered his flotilla by signal to sail up the Patuxent. Here he engaged the enemy's schooners and barges, and succeeded in beating them off, inflicting considerable injury on them. The enemy, having been reinforced, made another attempt upon the flotilla with all their barges, but were again compelled to retire, being pursued to their ships. On the tenth, the enemy made a more formidable attack upon the flotilla, with two schooners and twenty barges. After a smart action, the barges were driven to take shelter in the St. Leonard's from an eighteen gun vessel, which was then so roughly handled, at long shot, that her crew run her aground and abandoned her. These attempts were frequently repeated, until the twenty-sixth, when the commodore, having received a reinforcement of artillerists and marines, moved against the enemy's squadron, of which two of the vessels were frigates, and after an action of two hours, drove them from their anchorage. The commodore finding the blockade of the St. Leonard's raised, sailed out and ascended the Patuxent.

The marauding system was now renewed with additional spirit. Villages and settlements along the bay, were visited for the purpose of plunder and destruction. But apprehensions were felt of more important visitations. The peace in Europe had placed in the hands of our enemy, the disposal of a large

military force, inured to discipline and danger. We had little to fear from any attack by shipping without the aid of a considerable land force, but much to apprehend from their union. Our main army was occupied in a border war at a distance from the coast, whose extent offered great facilities for an invading foe.

To meet the crisis promptly, a requisition was made of the whole quota of the state of Maryland, of six thousand; five thousand of that of Pennsylvania; two thousand of Virginia; besides the whole quota of the district of Columbia, amounting to two thousand more; making in the whole, fifteen thousand, which it was thought would scarcely fail of bringing at least ten thousand into the field. It was ascertained, that about a thousand regulars could be depended on, besides a squadron of horse then in Pennsylvania, and some regulars who were ordered from North Carolina, and in addition, the men of Barney's flotilla, in case it should be found necessary to abandon it.

A new military district, composed of Maryland, the district of Columbia, and part of Virginia, was formed, and on the fifth of July the command was given to general Winder, who had been a short time before exchanged. The duties assigned to this officer were amongst the most important entrusted to any one during the war; and were, in their nature, exceedingly arduoes and difficult. The army with which he was to defend the important cities of Baltimore and Washington, existed only on paper; and whether they could be brought into the field, or not, depended upon casualties beyond his control.

The event showed that no dependence was to be placed on this system, for in August the general found that he could place no confidence in more than one thousand regulars, and about four thousand militia, the latter still at their domestic firesides. The prospect of a successful opposition to any serious attack either on Baltimore or Washington, was certainly problematical; and to which point the enemy would direct his forces, was beyond the power of human ken. The force of general Winder, if divided, was insufficient to warrant any sanguine hopes of the result.

The expected reinforcements arrived in the Chesapeake about the beginning of August, under admiral Cochrane, who was soon joined by the fleet in great force, under admiral Malcolm. The expedition was destined against Baltimore or Washington; but until the last moment, it was uncertain against which in particular. To increase this perplexity, the enemy divided his force into three parts, sending one up the Potomac, under captain Gordon, for the purpose of bombarding fort Warburton, and opening the way to the City of Washington; while the main body ascended the Patuxent, apparently with the intention of

attacking commodore Barney's flotilla, which had taken refuge at the head of that river, but with the real intention, as it was soon discovered, of attacking Washington. They proceeded to Benedict, which they reached on the nineteenth of August, and by the next day had completed the debarkation of their land forces, under general Ross, to the number of six thousand; on the twenty-first they moved towards Nottingham, and on the following day reached Marlborough. The British flotilla, consisting of launches and barges, ascended the river under Cockburn, keeping on the right flank of the army. The day following, on approaching the flotilla of commodore Barney, it was set on fire by the sailors left for the purpose, the commodore having already joined general Winder with his men.

The object of the enemy was now evident, but the prospect of preventing its accomplishment was discouraging. General Winder's command did not exceed three thousand men, one half of which were inexperienced militia, hastily gathered, and the British were in force, within twenty miles of the capital. The city could make no defence, but that of repelling the assailants in the open field: the only hope was in taking advantageous positions in the broken ground, bordered with woods, along the road through which they had to pass; but, as their numbers were such as to enable them to push out flanking parties, this would not avail in the end.

On the twenty-second, the British army halted five miles in advance of Marlborough, after some skirmishing. General Winder took a position at Old Fields, which covered Bladensburgh, the bridges on the Eastern Branch, and for Warburton. The general however, fearing a night attack, retired to the city, intending to choose a place in which he might repel the enemy to the best advantage.

The best arrangements the time would permit, were made. About five hundred yards from the bridge, the artillery, consisting of six six-pounders, under the command of captains Myers and Magruder, was posted behind a kind of breast work; major Pinkney's riflemen were placed in ambush to the right and left, so as to annoy the enemy in attempting to ford the stream, and at the same time to support the artillery. The fifth regiment was drawn up about fifty yards in the rear; and afterwards, perhaps injudiciously, removed much further; the other parts of the brigade were so disposed, as to support the artillery, and annoy the enemy in his approach. Shortly after this order was formed, major Beall arrived with about five hundred men from Annapolis, and was posted higher up in a wood on the right of the road. General Winder, by this time, had brought up the main body, and formed it in a line to the right and left of the road, in the rear of Stansbury's brigade, and the detachment

under Beall, with the heavy artillery, under commodore Barney, posted on an eminence near the road. This line had scarcely been formed, when the engagement commenced, and the president and heads of departments, who had until now been present, withdrew; the president conceiving it proper to leave the direction of the combat to the military men.

At twelve o'clock the enemy's column made its appearance on the hill which overhangs the stream, and moved down towards the bridge, throwing rockets, and apparently determined to force the passage. He now made an attempt to throw a strong body of infantry across the stream, but a few well directed shot from the artillery cleared the bridge, and compelled the enemy precipitately to shelter himself behind some houses near it, and apparently having suffered considerably. The fire was briskly kept up, and after a considerable pause, a large column rapidly advanced in the face of the battery, which, although managed with great spirit by officers of acknowledged skill and courage, was unable to repress them; they still continued to push forward their column, which was constantly reinforced, until they were able to form a considerable body on the Washington road. The enemy had not advanced far, when a part of the rifle corps discharged their pieces and fled, in spite of the efforts of their commander and major Pinkney, to rally them. The remainder began their fire too soon, but with some execution. The British were every moment drawing nearer the artillery, which could no longer be brought to bear upon them: and besides, there were no troops sufficiently near to afford a support; it then became unavoidably necessary for it to retire, and was followed by major Pinkney's riflemen. One piece of artillery was spiked and left behind. The whole fell back upon the fifth regiment, the nearest rallying point. A volunteer company of artillery now opened a cross fire upon the enemy, who were advancing through the orchard, but with not much effect; but, from the shelter of the trees, they were enabled to open a galling fire upon the fifth regiment. Colonel Sterett was ordered to advance, which he did promptly, until again halted in consequence of the other two regiments of Stansbury's brigade, having been thrown into confusion by rockets, and having begun to give way. In a few moments they took to flight, in despite of the exertions of general Winder, of general Stansbury, and other officers, to rally them. Sterett's regiment, Burch's artillery, and major Pinkney's riflemen, still maintained their ground with great firmness, and evinced a disposition to make a gallant resistance; but the enemy having by this time outflanked them, they were ordered to retire; this was unfortunately effected in confusion and disorder, the unavoidable consequence with militia in its retreat. Thus the first line was com-

pletely routed. The Baltimore artillery had before this taken a psoition higher up on the hill. On the right, colonels Beall and Hood, commanding the Annapolis militia, had thrown forward a small detachment under colonel Kramar, which, after maintaining its ground some time with considerable injury to the enemy, retired upon the main body. Soon after the retreat of this detachment, the enemy's column, marching along the turnpike road, was suddenly exposed to the fire of commodore Barney, who opened an eighteen pounder upon them, and instantly cleared the road; in several attempts to rally, they were again repulsed with great loss. In consequence of this, they attempted to flank the American line to the right, by passing through an open field; but this was frustrated by captain Miller, with three twelves and his marines. The enemy continuing flanking to the right, and pressed upon the militia of Annapolis, who fled, after giving an ineffectual fire. The command of commodore Barney was left to maintain the contest alone; but the enemy no longer appeared in front; he continued to outflank, pushing forward a few scattering sharp-shooters by which the commodore was wounded, and his horse killed under him, while several of his officers and men fell near him. His corps was by this time outflanked on both sides, and in the confusion, the ammunition waggons were driven off. His men therefore, were ordered to retreat, the commodore himself was taken prisoner, and his pieces fell into the hands of the enemy.

Under all these disheartening circumstances, the militia of the District, and the regulars continued firm, and general Winder still entertained hopes of rallying his troops, and meeting the enemy on the road to Washington. But he was disappointed, for the troops had scattered in all directions, and the greater part fled towards Montgomery court house.

After consultation with the secretaries of war and state, it was determined to abandon the city, and to make a stand on the heights of Georgetown, but the general soon found, that but few of the militia could be collected; the greater part had strayed off in search of food or refreshment, after having suffered much during the day; and others were almost exhausted, after the privations and fatigues which they had experienced. The next day he proceeded, with such as he could collect, to Montgomery.

The loss of the British, in this expedition, was little short of a thousand men, in killed, wounded and missing; that of the Americans, ten or twelve killed, and thirty or forty wounded. General Ross, after halting his army for a short time for refreshments, pushed on to Washington, where he arrived that evening about eight o'clock; and having stationed his main body about a mile and a half from the capital, he entered the deserted city, at the head of about seven hundred men.

We have now to record the climax of that vandal barbarity, exhibited by Great Britain during this war. The American metropolis, or more properly its site, was entered by them without opposition; they found about nine hundred houses, scattered in groups over a surface of three miles, and two splendid buildings, probably the finest specimens of architecture in the new world; the capitol, though still unfinished, presented a noble structure; and the president's house, in point of taste rivalling any building in Europe. By the admirer of the arts of every country, these splendid edifices could not be contemplated without pleasure, nor their destruction without the most indignant feelings.

Admiral Cockburn, already so unfavorably known in the United States for the species of devastating and plundering hostility which he had directed, now, conjointly with general Ross, who, on this occasion, withered every laurel he had gained in honourable war, issued orders for the conflagration of these noble edifices, with the valuable libraries of the capitol, and all the furniture and articles of taste or value, which they contained. The great bridge across the Potomac was also wantonly burnt, together with an elegant hotel, and several other private dwellings. This base and savage destruction is detailed in the official letter of the British general, as a matter of perfect indifference. The blaze produced by the conflagration, was seen even in Baltimore, giving a terrible warning to its inhabitants. All that was combustible about the capitol and the president's house, was reduced to ashes; and the walls of these stately buildings, blackened and broken in melancholy ruin, remained for a time, the monuments of British barbarity. The American, who saw them long after, could scarcely refrain from swearing in his heart eternal hatred to Britain. "I have seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate; the fire had resounded in their halls."*

The squadron under captain Gordon, consisting of eight sail, passed fort Warburton two days after the retreat of the British. The fort had been abandoned and blown up by captain Dyson, in a most extraordinary manner; probably under the influence of the dreadful panic which generally prevailed. His orders had been to abandon it only in case of an attack by the land forces; but on a mere rumour, and without waiting the enemy's approach, he thought proper to take this measure.

* On pp. 299, 300, the reader will perceive a very brief account of the capture of Washington, which slipped in rather unwarily. It was thought of too much consequence to pass with so slight a notice, and is now given more in detail.

On the twenty ninth, the squadron reached Alexandria; and the inhabitants of that place being completely in the power of the captain, were compelled to offer terms for the preservation of the town from conflagration and pillage. The insatiable avarice of the enemy imposed the hardest conditions: all the merchandise, of every description, whether in town, or removed since the nineteenth, was required to be put on board the shipping, then at the wharf, at the expense of the inhabitants, and the whole delivered to the enemy; that even such vessels as had been sunk, should be delivered up. These terms, somewhat modified, were complied with, and the captain descended with a fleet of prize vessels, and a rich booty.

In the meantime, preparations had been made in haste, by our naval heroes, captains Porter and Perry, to throw difficulties in the way of his descent. The first, at the battery of the White House, was assisted by general Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia, and captain Humphrey's rifle company; and at the battery at Indian Head, captain Perry was supported by the brigade of general Stewart, and the volunteer companies of major Peter and captain Burch. From the third, until the sixth of September, the British vessels were generally annoyed in passing these batteries. Frequent attempts were also made by commodore Rodgers, by approaching the fleet with fire vessels; but owing to a change of wind, they proved ineffectual. These respective forces were afterwards concentrated under commodore Rodgers, at Alexandria. He determined to defend the place, should the enemy, who was not yet out of sight of the battery, think proper to return.

Sir Peter Parker, who ascended the Chesapeake, was not so fortunate as the other officers. He landed at night, in the neighbourhood of Moor's Fields, with the view of surprising a party of militia, encamped under the command of colonel Reed. In this he was disappointed, for the militia, having heard the approach of the barges, were prepared to receive him. Sir Peter Parker having landed, moved forward at the head of about two hundred and fifty men; but on approaching within seventy yards of the Americans, they received a heavy fire; he endeavoured to press forward on the centre of the line; in this he was foiled, and threw himself on the flank, where he was also repulsed. Colonel Reed being informed, that the cartridges were nearly expended, ordered his men to retire a small distance, until they could be supplied. In the meantime, the British, having suffered a severe loss, thought proper to retire, carrying with them the wounded, among whom was sir Peter Parker, who died soon after.

The capture of Washington was, at first, boasted of by the British ministry, as a most signal exploit; but it was viewed in a very different light on the continent.

To say nothing of the prosecuting hostilities with augmented rigour, at a moment when there was a negotiation for peace, the wanton acts of barbarity roused the indignation of all the powers of Europe; and in the British parliament, so great a sensation was excited, as to cause its perpetrators to shelter themselves from public odium, by the basest falsehoods; the ministry were compelled to make a statement, that instructions had been sent to the coast of America, to desist from further inflictions of vengeance.

But if the effect was powerful abroad, it was unexampled throughout the United States. Party spirit, that political fiend, instantly fled, and with it fled the dissensions which almost paralyzed the efforts of the nation. But one voice was heard from one end of the continent to the other; a glorious union was brought about, and a nation of freemen was seen to rise in its strength. Those who had at first opposed the war, from an opinion of its impolicy, or who condemned the invasion of Canada, now saw only a powerful nation about to precipitate her armies on America, with the avowed intention of desolating our fair possessions.

The poison of political dissensions was dead with the political death of Napoleon; and who could now say that Britain was not actuated by the mere thirst for revenge, or the less honorable thirst for plunder? The war now came home to the interests and feelings of every man, and the scenes of preparations which were exhibited over the continent, were the most animated that could be conceived. The whole country was in motion; every town was a camp; and in the cities, the peaceful avocations of the citizens, which the war until now had scarcely interrupted, were laid aside. All the principal cities selected their committees of defence, and the whole of the population moved in bands, to the sound of martial music, to the daily occupation of labouring on the entrenchments and fortifications.

The New England states, at first so much averse to the war, now exhibited their characteristic activity and energy, and gave at once a satisfactory proof that nothing was further from their intentions, than seceding from the confederation. The governor of Vermont, who had the year before made an attempt to recall the militia of the state from the service of the United States, and on which occasion the militia nobly refused to obey him, now endeavoured to atone for his conduct, by calling them forth in the most animated manner, to join the standard of their country.

The American ladies, always conspicuous in the history of America, for their patriotic conduct in times of difficulty and danger, never appeared so lovely in their zeal for their country.

The first object of attack, it was rightly conjectured, would be Baltimore. The cities of Philadelphia and New York waited the result with as much anxiety, as if their fate depended upon its successful issue; in this they perhaps had reason; for should Baltimore fall, during the panic which succeeded the capture of Washington, and before the other cities would have time to place themselves in an attitude of defence, they could make but a feeble resistance.

After the first moment of despondency, occasioned by the capture of Washington had subsided in Baltimore, and it was discovered that the place would not be assailed immediately, the inhabitants set about making preparations for defence. Under the direction of general Smith, a ditch was opened, and a breastwork thrown up by the inhabitants, on the high ground to the north-east, (to effect which every class of people united,) so as completely to protect the town in the only quarter in which it was accessible by land forces.

In a few days, a considerable number of militia arrived from Pennsylvania and Virginia; and the spirits of the inhabitants were greatly animated by the arrival of the naval veteran, commodore Rodgers, with his marines, who took possession of the heavy batteries on the hill.

A brigade of Virginia volunteers, together with the regulars, was assigned to general Winder, and the city brigade to general Stricker; the whole under the command of major general Smith; the two latter, distinguished revolutionary officers. General Stricker had served from the commencement to the conclusion of that war, and shared in many important battles. The approach to the city by water, was defended by fort M'Henry, commanded by major Armistead, with about sixty artillerists, under captain Evans, and two companies of sea fencibles, under captains Bunbury and Addison; of these, thirty-five were on the sick list. As this number was insufficient to man the batteries, major Armistead was furnished with two companies of volunteer artillery, under captain Berry and lieutenant Pennington, and a company under judge Nicholson, (chief justice of Baltimore county,) which had tendered its services. Besides these, there was a detachment of commodore Barney's flotilla, under lieutenant colonel Stewart and major Lane, consisting of detachments from the twelfth, fourteenth, and thirty-sixth regiments of the United States troops, which were encamped under the walls of the fort. The total amounted to about one thousand men.

Two batteries on the right of fort M'Henry, upon the Patapsco, to prevent the enemy from landing during the night, in the rear of the town, were manned, the one by lieutenant Newcomb, with a detachment of sailors; the other, by lieutenant Webster, of the flotilla; the former was called fort Covington, the latter, the City Battery.

It was equally important to the safety of the city, that in the event of an attack by land and naval forces, both should be repelled; for in case fort M'Henry was silenced by the shipping, there would be nothing to prevent the destruction of the town; and if the land forces of the enemy were successful, the fort could no longer be of any avail, and would even be untenable. To the defence of fort M'Henry, and to the repulse of the British from the lines, the inhabitants looked for safety. Independently of the devastating orders of Cochrane, and the recent scenes at Washington and Alexandria, this city was a selected object of the vengeance of the enemy, in consequence of her active and patriotic exertions during the war. No one can imagine to himself a just picture of the state of anxious feeling, among fifty thousand people of all ages and sexes, for the approaching crisis, which would determine the safety or destruction of their city.

And even in case of successful resistance, the most painful incertitude hung over the fate of those who were to risk their lives in its defence; not strangers or mercenaries, but their bosom friends, their brothers, their sons and husbands: every one, even old men and boys, who could wield a musket, were found in the ranks.

The committee of safety, composed of those advanced in life, and the most influential citizens, (among whom was the respectable colonel Howard, a hero of the revolution, took a large share in the preparations to meet the approaching danger.

The British army having re-embarked on board the fleet in the Patuxent, admiral Cochrane moved down the river, and proceeded up the Chesapeake; and on the morning of the eleventh of September, appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, about fourteen miles from the city of Baltimore, with a fleet of ships of war and transports, amounting to fifty sail.

On the next day the land forces, to the number of at least six thousand men, the veterans of Wellington, debarked at North Point, and under the command of general Ross, took up their march for the city.

General Stricker claimed for the city brigade, under his command, the honor of being the first to meet the invader, and was accordingly detached by general Smith, in anticipation of the landing of the British troops.

On the eleventh, general Stricker proceeded on the road to

North Point, at the head of three thousand two hundred effective men; consisting of the fifth regiment, under lieutenant colonel Sterett, five hundred and fifty strong; six hundred and twenty of the sixth, under lieutenant colonel M'Donald; five hundred of the twenty-seventh, under lieutenant colonel Long; five hundred and fifty of the thirty-ninth, under lieutenant colonel Fowler; seven hundred of the fifty-first, under lieutenant colonel Amey; one hundred and fifty riflemen, under captain Dyer; one hundred and fifty cavalry, under lieutenant colonel Biays; and the Union Artillery, of seventy-five men, and six four pounders, under captain Montgomery (attorney general of the state). A light corps of riflemen and musketry, under major Randal, taken from general Stansbury's brigade, and the Pennsylvania volunteers, were detached to the mouth of Bear creek, with orders to co-operate with general Stricker, and to check any landing which the enemy might effect in that quarter.

At six o'clock, P. M. general Stricker reached the meeting-house, near the head of Bear Creek, seven miles from the city. Here the brigade halted, with the exception of the cavalry, who were pushed forward to Gorsuch's farm, three miles in advance, and the riflemen, who took post near the blacksmith's shop, two miles in advance of the encampment.

The next morning (the twelfth) at seven o'clock, information was received from the videttes, that the enemy were debarking troops under cover of their gun vessels, which lay off the bluff at North Point, within the mouth of the Patapsco river. The baggage was immediately ordered back under a strong guard, and general Stricker moved forward the fifth and twenty-seventh regiments, and the artillery, to the head of Long Log lane, resting the fifth with its right on the head of a branch of Bear creek, its left on the main road, while the twenty-seventh was posted on the opposite side of the road, in a line with the fifth. The artillery was posted at the head of the lane, in the interval between these two regiments. The thirty-ninth was drawn up three hundred yards in the rear of the twenty-seventh, and the fifty-first the same distance in the rear of the fifth: the sixth regiment was drawn up as a reserve, within sight, half a mile in the rear of the second line.

Thus judiciously posted, the general determined to wait an attack, having given orders, that the two regiments composing the front line, should receive the enemy, and if necessary, fall back through the fifty-first and thirty-ninth, and form on the right of the sixth, posted in reserve.

The general now learned, that the British were moving rapidly up the main road, and at the moment when he expected their approach to be announced by the riflemen, stationed in

the low thick pine and firs, in advance, greatly to his chagrin, he discovered this corps falling back upon the main position, having listened to a groundless rumour, that the enemy were landing on Back river, to cut them off. This part of the general's plan having been frustrated, he placed the riflemen on the right of his front line, by this means better securing that flank. The videttes soon after bringing information that a party of the enemy were in a careless manner carousing at Gorsuch's farm, several of the officers offered their services to dislodge him. Captains Levering's and Howard's companies, from the fifth, about one hundred and fifty in number, under major Heath, of that regiment; captain Aisquith's, and a few other riflemen, in all about seventy; a small piece of artillery, under lieutenant Stiles, and the cavalry, were pushed forward, to chastise the insolence of the enemy's advance, and to evince a wish, on the part of the American army, to engage.

The detachment had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when they came in contact with the main body of the enemy; a sharp skirmish ensued, in which major Heath's horse was shot under him, and several of the Americans killed and wounded, but not unrevenged, for in this affair the enemy lost their commander in chief, general Ross.

This officer had imprudently proceeded too far, for the purpose of reconnoitering, when he was killed by one of the company of captain Howard, who was in the advance.

After the death of Ross, the command devolved on colonel Brook, who continued to push forward, notwithstanding this occurrence. The American detachment fell back, and the general conceiving the two companies of Howard and Levering to be too much fatigued to share in the approaching conflict, they were ordered to form on the reserve, not without a request on their part, to be permitted to share in the perils of their townsmen.

At half past two o'clock, the enemy commenced throwing rockets, which did no injury, and immediately captain Montgomery's artillery opened their fire upon them, which was returned by a six pounder and howitzer upon the left and centre. The fire was brisk for some minutes, when the general ordered it to cease on his side, with a view of bringing the enemy into close cannister distance.

Perceiving that the efforts of the British were chiefly directed against the left flank, the general brought up the thirty-ninth into line on the left of the twenty-seventh, and detached two pieces of artillery on the left of the thirty-ninth; and still more completely to protect this flank, which was all important, colonel Amey, of the fifty-first, was ordered to form his regiment at right angles with the line, resting his right on the left of the

thirty-ninth. This movement was badly executed, and created some confusion in that quarter, but was soon rectified with the assistance of the general's aids and major Stevenson, and the brigade majors, Calhoun and Frailey.

The enemy's right column now displayed, and advanced upon the twenty-seventh and thirty-ninth. Unfortunately, at this juncture, the fifty-first, from some sudden panic, after giving a random fire, broke and retreated in such confusion as rendered it impossible to rally it, and occasioned the same disorder in the second battalion of the thirty-ninth.

The fire by this time became general, from right to left; the artillery poured an incessant and destructive stream upon the enemy's left column, which endeavoured to shelter itself behind a log house, but this was instantly in a blaze; captain Sadtler having taken the precaution to fire it, as soon as it was abandoned by him and his yagers.

About ten minutes past three, the British line came on with a rapid discharge of musketry, which was well returned by the fifth, the twenty-seventh, and the first battalion of the thirty-ninth, who maintained their ground in spite of the example set by the intended support on the left.

The whole of the general's force with this diminution, scarcely amounted to fourteen hundred, to which was opposed the whole of the enemy. The fire was incessant, until about twenty-five minutes before four o'clock, during which time general Stricker gallantly contended against four times his numbers; but finding that the unequal contest could be maintained no longer, and that the enemy was about to outflank him, in consequence of the flight of the fifty-first, he was compelled to retire upon his reserve, which he effected in good order. Here he formed his brigade, but the enemy not thinking it advisable to pursue, he fell back, and took post on the left of the line, half a mile in advance of the entrenchments, where he was joined by general Winder, who had been stationed on the west side of the city, but was now ordered, with the Virginia brigade, and captain Bird's United States dragoons, to take post on the left of general Stricker.

The conduct of the Baltimore brigade, with the exception of the fifty-first, and the second battalion of the thirty-ninth, who were seized with the panic to which raw troops are so much subject, deserved the highest praise. Veterans could not have done more. Their loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to one hundred and sixty-three (amongst whom were some of the most respectable citizens of Baltimore), about an eighth of the force engaged. Adjutant James Lowry Donaldson, of the twenty-seventh (an eminent lawyer), was killed in the hottest of the fight. Major Heath and major Moore, and a number of

other officers, were wounded. The loss of the British was nearly double that of the Americans, according to their own acknowledgment, and probably much greater. This unexpected resistance had a happy effect upon the enemy; in their official statements, they computed the American force at six thousand, a great proportion of regulars, and estimated our loss at one thousand, from which we may infer their opinion of the manner in which they were received.

In the mean time the naval attack had already commenced from five bomb vessels, at the distance of two miles; when finding themselves sufficiently near, they anchored, and kept up an incessant bombardment, while they were at such a distance as to be out of the reach of the guns of the fort. The situation, although painfully inactive, was highly perilous; yet every man stood to his post without shrinking. One of the twenty-four pounders, on the south-west bastion, under captain Nicholson, was dismounted, and killed his second lieutenant and wounded several of his men. The enemy now approached somewhat nearer, so as to be within striking distance. A tremendous fire was instantly opened from the fort, which compelled him precipitately to gain his former position. The bombardment was kept up during the whole day and night. The city, thus assailed on both sides, awaited the result with death-like silence, and yet no eye was closed in sleep. Suddenly, about midnight, a tremendous cannonade was heard in the direction of the fort, and the affrighted population believed that all was over. Their fears were soon quieted, by the information that some barges of the enemy, the number not known, had attempted to land, but were compelled to draw off with all possible haste, after great slaughter, by lieutenants Newcomb and Webster, who commanded the city battery and fort Covington. By the next morning the bombardment ceased, after upwards of fifteen hundred shells had been thrown; a large portion of which burst over the fort, and scattered their fragments amongst its defenders; a great number fell within the works, and materially injured two of the public buildings, and two slightly.

The enemy, not willing to abide such rough handling, retreated under cover of a dark and stormy night, and in the morning general Winder was detached in pursuit, but the time which had elapsed was sufficient for embarkation, and the rear could not be cut off. The next day the fleet descended the bay, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Baltimore.

We shall now return with our readers to the operations on the northern frontier. About the first of September, sir George Prevost led his army to Plattsburgh, while the fleet proceeded up the lake on his left, to make a simultaneous attack by land and water. Before this, little of consequence had transpired in this quarter.

The peace in Europe permitted the English government to transport large bodies of troops, and they had already sent on a considerable army to Canada. Fourteen thousand of these were organized under sir George, and the remainder were sent to oppose general Brown on the Niagara.

To oppose this overwhelming force, general Macomb had but fifteen hundred regulars, including new recruits and invalids. The works were in no state of defence, and the stores and ordnance were in great disorder. The British force took possession of Champlain on the third of September, and from the proclamations and impressments of wagons and teams in this vicinity, it was soon discovered that their object was an attack on Plattsburgh. Not a minute was to be lost in placing the works in a state of defence; and in order to create an emulation and zeal among the officers and men, they were divided into detachments, and stationed in the several forts; the general declaring in orders that each detachment was the garrison of its own work, and bound to defend it to the last extremity. At the same time he called on general Mooers, of the New York militia, and arranged with him plans for calling out the militia en masse. The inhabitants of Plattsburgh fled with their families and effects, excepting a few men and some boys who formed themselves into a company, received rifles, and were exceedingly useful.

In this extremity general Mooers collected about seven hundred militia, and small detachments were posted so as to watch and harass the enemy. Trees were felled, and every impediment put in the way of their march, and some skirmishes ensued. At day light on the sixth, it was ascertained that the enemy were advancing in two columns by each of these roads, dividing at Sampson's a little below Chazy village. The column on the Beckman road approached rapidly; the militia skirmished a little with its advanced parties, but which, with the exception of a few brave men, soon broke, and fled in the greatest disorder. A detachment of two hundred and fifty men, under major Wool, had been marched to their support, and to show them an example of firmness; but it was found unavailing.

Finding that the enemy's columns had penetrated within a mile of Plattsburgh, orders were received for colonel Appling to return from his position at Dead Creek, and fall on the enemy's right flank. The colonel fortunately arrived just in time to save his retreat, and to fall in with the head of a column debouching from the woods. He poured a destructive fire from his riflemen, and continued to annoy the column until he formed a junction with major Wool. Notwithstanding that considerable execution was done by the field pieces, the enemy still continued to press forward in column; considerable obstructions were, however, thrown in their way by the removal of the

bridge, and by the fallen trees: a galling fire was also kept up from the galleys as they passed the creek.

Plattsburgh is on the north east side of the Saranac, near its entrance into lake Champlain, directly opposite the American works. The town was of course abandoned, and occupied by the British. Attempts were made to take possession of the bridge, but it was resolutely guarded by the Americans. When our troops had passed the bridge, the planks were raised, and used for a breast work.

The enemy, now masters of the village, instead of attempting to carry the American works, on the opposite side of the river, which their vast superiority of force might have enabled them to do, contented themselves with erecting works, whence they continued to annoy the Americans, and constantly skirmishing at the bridges and fords. By the eleventh, the fifth day of the siege, a considerable force of New York and Vermont militia, which had been continually collecting, lined the Saranac, and repelled the attempts of the British to cross, while at the same time, a considerable body was sent to harass their rear. There was scarcely an intermission to the skirmishes which took place between them and the militia, who acted, after the first day, with great intrepidity. The American regulars, at the same time, laboured incessantly to extend and strengthen their works. During this time, a handsome affair was achieved by captain M'Glassin, who, crossing the river in the night, assailed the British regulars, more than three times his number, stationed at a masked battery, which had been for some days preparing, drove them from their posts, and demolished their works.

The principal cause of delay, which was fortunate for the Americans, was the momentary expctation of the fleet, which was intended to co-operate. On the morning of the eleventh, at eight o'clock, the look out boat of commodore M'Donough, announced its approach. It consisted of the Confiance, carrying thirty-nine guns, twenty seven of which were twenty-four pounders; the brig Linnet, of sixteen guns; the sloops Chub and Finch, each carrying eleven guns; thirteen galleys, five of which carried two, and the remainder one gun. The commodore at this moment lay at anchor in Plattsburg bay, and intended in that situation to receive the enemy. His fleet consisted of the Saratoga, carrying twenty-six guns, eight of which were long twenty-four pounders; the Eagle, of twenty guns; the Ticonderoga of seventeen, the Preble, seven: and ten galleys, six of which carried two, and the remainder one gun. Besides the advantage which the enemy possessed, in being able to choose their position, their force was much superior. The number of guns in the British

fleet amounted to ninety-five, and of men, to upwards of a thousand: while that of the Americans was eighty-six, and the number of men, less by two hundred. One of the American vessels had been built with despatch almost incredible. Eighteen days before the trees of which it was constructed, were actually growing on the shores of the lake.

The American vessels were moored in line, with five gunboats and galleys on each flank. At nine o'clock, captain Downie, the British commander anchored in line, abreast of the American squadron, at about three hundred yards distance, the Confiance opposed to the Saratoga, the Linnet to the Eagle; the British galleys and one of the sloops to the Ticonderoga, Preble, and the left division of the American galleys; the other sloop to the right division.

The importance of the contest which was now impending, will justify us in a particular description.

In this situation the whole force on both sides became engaged, and at the same moment, as if this had been the signal, the contest commenced between general M'Comb and sir George Prevost. One of the British sloops was soon thrown out of the engagement, by running on a reef of rocks, whence she could not be extricated, while one division of the enemy's galleys was so roughly handled, as to be compelled to pull out of the way. But the fate of this interesting day, on which the two rivals for naval superiority, were for the second time matched in squadron, depended chiefly on the result of the engagement between the two largest ships. The American commodore maintained the unequal contest for two hours, but the greater weight of the enemy's battery seemed to incline the scale of victory, although he suffered prodigiously. The chances against the Sartoga were accidentally increased by the commander of the Eagle, who not being able to bring his guns to bear as he wished, cut his cable, and anchored between the Ticonderoga and Saratoga, by which this vessel was exposed to a galling fire from the enemy's brig. The guns on the starboard side had, by this time, been either dismounted or become unmanageable: the situation of the enemy was but little better; to both, the fortune of the day depended on the execution of one of the most difficult naval manœuvres; to wind their vessel round, and bring a new broadside to bear. The Confiance assayed it in vain, but the efforts of the Saratoga were successful; a stern anchor was let go, the bower cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the frigate, which soon after surrendered. A broadside was then sprung to bear on the brig, which surrendered in fifteen minutes after. The sloop opposed to the Eagle had struck to captain Henley sometime before, and drifted down the line. Three of the galleys were sunk, the others es-

caped; all the rest of the fleet fell into the hands of commodore M'Donough. By the time this bloody contest was over, there was scarcely a mast in either squadron capable of bearing a sail, and the greater part of the vessels in a sinking state. There were fifty round shot in the hull of the Saratoga, and in the Confiance one hundred and five. The Saratoga was twice set on fire by hot shot. The action lasted two hours and twenty minutes. The commander of the Confiance was killed, with forty-nine of his men, and sixty wounded. On board the Saratoga there were twenty-eight killed, and twenty-nine wounded. Of the first, was lieutenant Gamble; and on board the Ticonderoga, lieutenant Stansbury, (son of general Stansbury, of Maryland.) Among the wounded, were lieutenant Smith, acting lieutenant Spencer, and midshipman Baldwin.—The total loss in the American squadron amounted to fifty-two killed, and fifty-eight wounded. The loss of the enemy was eighty-four killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty six prisoners, which actually exceeded the number of their captors.

This engagement, so deeply interesting to the two rival nations, took place in sight of the hostile armies. But they were by no means quiet spectators of the scene; a hot engagement was kept up during the whole time; the air was filled with bombs, rockets, sharpnels, and hot balls. Three desperate efforts were made by the British to cross over, and storm the American works, in which they were as often repulsed, with considerable loss. An attempt to force the bridge, was bravely defeated by a detachment of regulars and captain Grosvenor's riflemen. They attempted a ford about three miles above, but were so briskly assailed by a body of volunteers and militia posted in a wood, that the greater part of the detachment was cut to pieces. The efforts of the enemy naturally relaxed, after witnessing the painful sight, so little expected, of the entire capture of their fleet. The firing was, however, kept up until night; at night the enemy withdrew their artillery, and raised the seige. The plans of sir George Prevost were completely frustrated, since the Americans had now the command of the lake; even if he were to possess himself of the American works, it would not serve him any further design; in the meantime he would be exposed to great danger from the hourly augmentation of the American force. Under the cover of the night, he therefore sent off all his baggage and artillery, for which he found means of transportation; and before day the next morning, his whole force precipitately retreated, leaving behind their sick and wounded. Vast quantities of military stores and munitions of war, were abandoned by them, and still greater quantities were afterwards found hid in marshes, or

buried in the ground. They were hotly pursued, a number of stragglers were picked up, and upwards of five hundred deserters came in.

Those of the British army and navy who fell, were interred with the honours of war. The humane attention of the Americans to the wounded, and the politeness and generous attention to the prisoners, were acknowledged in grateful terms by captain Pryng, (who succeeded captain Downie,) in his official despatch to the admiralty.

Thus was this portentous invasion most happily repelled, and another of our inland seas made glorious by the victories of free Americans. The "star spangled banner" waved in triumph on the waters of Champlain, as it did on Erie and Ontario.—These noble features in our great empire, will henceforth be viewed with a very different interest from what they heretofore excited.

The effect of this victory tended to allay party spirit, and produce unanimity in the national legislature. The great cause of bitter complaint against the administration, French influence, was at an end, and the recent conduct of Great Britain towards this country, rendered it impossible for any one to say that she was not wantonly pursuing hostilities, when these causes no longer existed. No one could now be the advocate of Britain.

But in addition to other circumstances, the neglect experienced by our ministers in Europe, and the shuffling policy of Great Britain, which procrastinated a final adjustment of differences, were well understood, and had their proper effect on our citizens. Our sincere desire for peace was met by the demand for a surrender of a large portion of territory, and a total relinquishment of the lake shores, a *sine qua non*. To these conditions it is evident our government could not accede, and few were so weak as to believe that the proposition was made with any other view, than to prolong the negotiations, and take advantage of circumstances which might intervene.

About this epoch, a convention composed of delegates from several of the New England states met at Hartford, the members of which were opposed to the war. This step occasioned much excitement, and was the subject of many speculations. It was charged with the design of sundering the union of the states; but, after a brief session, terminated in an address, and remonstrance, or petition to congress, enumerating several objections to the federal constitution. It was presented to several states for approbation, but was uniformly rejected. As to the constitutional right of assembling for the purposes of discussing national subjects, we can have but one voice, unless we abandon republican principles; but whether the motives, the time, and the expected results of this convention were correct

and judicious, is problematical. In the legislature of Pennsylvania, in which the memorial was discussed, the conduct of the memorialists was severely censured.

Our finances now appeared to revive, under the indefatigable industry and great abilities of Mr. Dallas, whom the president selected at this critical moment to fill the office of secretary of the treasury. His plans were characterized by the greatest boldness, but were unfolded in so luminous a manner, as to carry conviction to every mind. He may be said to have plucked up the sinking credit of the nation, by the locks. The duties of the secretary at war were, at the same time, discharged by colonel Monroe, in addition to his other avocations; in which undertaking he exhibited no small courage, for it had become a forlorn hope of popularity; he was happily rewarded by the most fortunate success in all his measures, and by the universal applause of his country.

While the American congress was thus occupied, the public attention was awakened by a most alarming state of affair to the southward. The Creek war was renewed, and a powerful invasion of Louisiana was threatened. General Jackson, after concluding a treaty with the Creeks, moved his head, quarters to Mobile. Here, about the latter end of August, he received certain information, that three British ships of war had arrived at Pensacola, and had landed a large quantity of ammunition and guns, for the purpose of arming the Indians, and had besides marched into the fort with three hundred troops. He was also informed, that the fleet of admiral Cochrane had been reinforced at Bermuda, and that thirteen ships of the line, with transports, were daily expected with ten thousand troops, for the purpose of invading some of the southern states. On the receipt of this information, he immediately wrote to the governor of Tennessee, calling for the whole quota of that state.

On the fifteenth of September, three vessels of war from Pensacola, appeared before fort Boyer, which commands the entrance to Mobile bay. A proclamation was issued by colonel Nichols, commanding his majesty's forces in Florida, addressed to the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, inviting them to aid the British. He likewise made a proposition to a nest of pirates which infested one of the lakes which communicates with the gulf, to assist in the operations against the Americans in that quarter. This nest of desperadoes amounted to five or six hundred, and their commander, Lafitte, had been out-lawed, by the American government. In the summer the establishment had been broken up by commodore Patterson, but had again organized, and would be a dangerous force, if employed by our enemies, for which service they had large offers.

But what was most humiliating to those who could stoop so low, this alliance was indignantly rejected. Lafitte at first dissembled, until he had drawn from the colonel important information, when he dismissed him with disdain, and immediately despatched a messenger to governor Claiborne, who had some time before offered five hundred dollars for his apprehension, and laid before him incontestible proofs of the truth of his declaration. The governor was agreeably surprised at this unexpected trait of generosity, but at first hesitated as to the course to be pursued: on the approach of danger, however, he issued his proclamation, in which he pledged himself, that those engaged in this illicit course of life should be forgiven, provided they would come forward and aid in the defence of the country. This was joyfully accepted by the Barratarians, as they were called, who tendered their services, and were found eminently useful.

General Jackson having in vain remonstrated with the governor of Pensacola for his unprecedented conduct, determined to march against that place. Having received a reinforcement of two thousand Tennessee militia, which had marched through the Indian country, he advanced to Pensacola, to demand redress. On the sixth of November he reached the neighbourhood of that post, and immediately sent major Peire with a flag, to communicate the object of his visit to the governor; but he was forced to return, being fired on from the batteries. Jackson then reconnoitred the fort, and finding it defended both by British and Indians, he made arrangements for storming it the next day. The troops were put in motion at day light, and being encamped to the west of the town, the attack would be expected from that quarter; to keep up this idea, part of the mounted men were sent to show themselves on the west, whilst the remaindor of the troops passed to the rear of the fort, undiscovered, to the east of the town. His whole force, consisting of a few regulars, a body of militia, and some Choctaw Indians, appeared in view when within a mile of the fort, and advanced firmly to the enemy's works, although there were seven British vessels on their left, and strong batteries of cannon in front. On entering the town, a battery of two cannons, loaded with ball and grape, was opened on the centre column, composed of regulars, and a shower of musketry was poured from the houses and gardens. The battery was soon carried and the musketry silenced. The governor now made his appearance with a flag, begged for mercy, and offered to surrender the town immediately. This was granted, and every protection afforded to the persons and property of the inhabitants. The commandant of the fort refused to surrender until midnight, when he evacuated it with his troops, just as the Americans

were preparing to make a furious assault. The British withdrew their shipping, and Jackson, having accomplished his purpose, returned to Mobile.

Notwithstanding the negotiations for peace, preparations were made for a formidable invasion of Louisiana, and governor Claiborne ordered the two divisions of militia to hold themselves in readiness to repel an attack. He also called on the inhabitants to turn out *en masse*, for the defence of their liberties and homes.

In New Orleans, the citizens, from the commencement of the war, as if sensible of the feeble help which they could expect from the general government, manifested the greatest alacrity in qualifying themselves for taking the field against an invader. Every man capable of bearing arms, had become a soldier, and perhaps in none was there such frequent and elegant displays of well disciplined volunteer companies dressed in uniform. The wonderful aptitude of the French for the profession of arms, was never more fully exhibited. There were intermingled with them, a number of men who had served in the French armies.

The free people of colour, a numerous class, were permitted, as a privilege of which they were proud, to form volunteer companies, and wear their uniform; some of these were natives, but the greater part had been refugees from St. Domingo. The American and French inhabitants, although sometimes at variance with each other, on this occasion united heartily in dislike to the English, and in a disposition to frustrate their designs.

Hearing of the danger of New Orleans, general Jackson repaired thither for its defence, and arrived there on the second of December. He put in requisition all the powers of his mind, and took the most active measures to prevent the effects of an expected invasion.

Batteries were constructed in important situations, and every obstruction put in the way of the invaders. He called on the legislature for resources, which were promptly supplied. Colonel Monroe, acting secretary of war, had already forwarded military supplies, and called on the neighbouring governors for a considerable force.

About the fifth of December, certain intelligence was received, that the British fleet, consisting of at least sixty sail, was off the coast to the east of the Mississippi. Commodore Patterson immediately despatched five gunboats, under the command of lieutenant Catesby Jones, to watch the motions of the enemy. They were discovered in such force off Cat Island, as to induce the lieutenant to make sail for the passes into lake Ponchartrain, in order to oppose the entrance of the British.

The Sea Horse, sailing master Johnson, after a gallant resistance, was captured in the bay of St. Louis.

On the fourteenth, the gunboats, while becalmed, were attacked by nearly forty barges and twelve hundred men, and after a contest of an hour, with this overwhelming force, the flotilla surrendered. The loss of the Americans was forty killed and wounded; among the latter, lieutenant Spidden, who lost an arm: lieutenants Jones and M'Keever were also wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at three hundred men.

This loss was severely felt, as the enemy was thereby enabled to choose his point of attack, and we were in a great measure prevented from watching his motions. But the exertions for defence were neither paralyzed nor abated. The legislature appropriated money, and offered bounties which induced numbers to serve on board the schooner Caroline, and the brig Louisiana. An embargo was laid for three days, and martial law was declared.

Lafitte and his Barratarians, about this time joined the American forces. The city now exhibited an interesting spectacle; all classes cheerfully preparing for the reception of the invader, and reposing the utmost confidence in Jackson. All was life and bustle, and the female part of the society seemed emulous to share in this affecting scene.

All the principal bayous which communicate with the lake, and the narrow strip of land on the borders of the Mississippi, through the swamps, had been obstructed. There was, however, a communication with lake Borgne, but little known, called the bayou Bienvenu, used by fishermen; its head near the plantation of general Villere, seven miles below the city. Major Villere had received orders from his father to guard this bayou, and he accordingly stationed a guard near its entrance into the lake, at the cabins of some fishermen.

It afterwards appeared, that these wretches had been in the employment of the British. On the twenty-second, guided by them, the enemy came suddenly upon the American guard, and took them prisoners. The division under general Keane, by four o'clock in the morning reached the commencement of Villere's canal, and having disembarked and rested some hours, proceeded through the cane-brake, and by two o'clock reached the bank of the river. General Villere's house was suddenly surrounded, as also that of his neighbour, colonel La Ronde; but this officer, as well as major Villere, was so fortunate as to effect his escape, and hastening to the head quarters, communicated the intelligence.

The alarm gun was fired, and the commander in chief, with that promptitude and decision for which he is so remarkable, instantly resolved on the only course to be pursued, which was,

without the loss of a moment's time, to attack the enemy. Coffee's riflemen, stationed above the city, in one hour's time were at the place of rendezvous; the battalion of major Plauche had arrived from the bayou, and the regulars and city volunteers were ready to march. By six o'clock the different corps were united on Rodrigue's canal, six miles below the city. The schooner Caroline, captain Henley, at the same time dropped down the river. The command of general Coffee, together with captain Beale's riflemen, were placed on the left, towards the woods; the city volunteers and men of colour, under Plauche and Duquin; the whole under the command of colonel Ross, were stationed to the right of these; and next to them the two regiments of regulars, the seventh and forty-fourth; the artillery and marines, under colonel M'Rea, occupied the road. The whole scarcely exceeding two thousand men.

The British force at this time amounted to three thousand, and instead of pushing directly towards the city, had biouvacked, fully convinced that the most difficult part of the enterprise was already achieved.

Carroll's force was posted on the Gentilly road, to provide against an attack from that quarter. Coffee was directed to turn their right, which rested on the wood, at the distance of half a mile from the river, while the general assailed their strongest position near it. Commodore Patterson, who had gone on board the Caroline, dropped down at the same time, and was to open his fire upon the enemy as the signal of attack. The first intimation of the approach of the Americans was a raking broadside from the schooner; their fires extending from the river, enabled the assailants to take deliberate aim. Coffee's men, with their usual impetuosity, rushed upon the right, and entered their camp, while Jackson's troops in front, advanced upon them with great ardor.

The enemy, although taken by surprise, and having several hundreds suddenly killed and wounded, soon formed, and their fires being extinguished, came into action. A thick fog, which arose shortly after, producing some confusion in the different American corps, Jackson prudently called off his troops, lay on the field that night, and at four in the morning, took a position on the other side of the canal of Rodrigue, which had formerly been a mill-race.

The American loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four prisoners, among whom were many of the principal inhabitants of the city. Colonel Lauderdale, of Tennessee, a brave soldier, fell much lamented. That of the British, was estimated at four hundred, in killed, wounded and missing. They had intended to proceed to New

Orleans the next day, but were induced to be more cautious, having estimated Jackson's force at fifteen thousand men.

The general set to work immediately to fortify his position. This was effected by a simple breastwork, from the river to the swamp, with a ditch in front. To hasten the construction of these works, cotton bags were used, as the cheeks of the embrazures. As the enemy was still annoyed by the Caroline, they set to work in constructing batteries to attack her, and on the twenty-seventh, threw hot shot, by which she was set on fire and blown up, about an hour after she was abandoned by her crew. The Louisiana, which then took her station, sustained the fire of all the batteries, until in imminent danger. In losing her, the whole co-operative naval force would be lost. Her commander, lieutenant Thompson, after encountering many obstacles, finally succeeded in bringing her near Jackson's position.

After the destruction of the Caroline, sir Edward Packenham, the British commander in chief, having landed the main body of his army, with a sufficient train of artillery, superintended in person, the arrangements for fortifying his position.

On the twenty-eighth, the British general advanced up the levee in force, with the intention of driving Jackson from his intrenchments; and at the distance of half a mile, commenced attack with rockets, bombs, and a heavy cannonade, as he approached the American works, which were yet unfinished. The Louisiana, discharging her broadside upon the enemy's column, caused great destruction; the fire from the American batteries was not less destructive; and after a violent struggle of seven hours, the British general retired.

The loss of the Americans was seven killed and eight wounded; among the former colonel Henderson, of Tennessee. That of the British much more considerable.

On the morning of the first of January, 1815, sir Edward Packenham was discovered to have constructed batteries near the American works, and at daylight commenced a heavy fire from them, which was well returned by Jackson. A bold attempt was, at the same time, made to turn the left of the Americans; but in this the enemy was completely repulsed. The British retired in the evening, from their batteries, having spiked their guns, and leaving behind a quantity of ammunition. The loss of the Americans, on this occasion, was eleven killed, and twenty-three wounded.

On the fourth, general Jackson was joined by two thousand five hundred Kentuckians, under general Adair; and on the sixth, the British were joined by general Lambert, at the head of four thousand men. The British force now amounted to little short of fifteen thousand of the finest troops; that of the

Americans to about six thousand, chiefly raw militia, a considerable portion unarmed, and from the haste of their departure, badly supplied with clothing. All the private arms which the inhabitants possessed were collected, and the ladies of New Orleans occupied themselves continually in making different articles of clothing. The mayor of the city, Mr. Girod, was particularly active at this trying moment.

The British general now prepared for a serious attempt on the American works. With great labour he had completed, by the seventh, a canal from the swamp to the Mississippi, by which he was enabled to transport a number of his boats to the river. It was his intention to make a simultaneous attack on the main force of general Jackson on the left bank, and crossing the river to attack the batteries on the right.

The works of the American general were by this time completed. His front was a straight line of one thousand yards, defended by upwards of three thousand infantry and artillerists. The ditch contained five feet water, and his front from having been flooded by opening the levees and frequent rains, was rendered slippery and muddy. Eight distinct batteries were judiciously disposed, mounting in all twelve guns, of different calibres. On the opposite side of the river there was a strong battery of fifteen guns, and the entrenchments were occupied by general Morgan, with the Louisiana militia, and of a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops. To guard against an attack from any other quarter, colonel Reuben Kemper, with a few men, encountering infinite difficulties, had explored every pass and bayou, and on this subject had placed at ease the mind of the commander in chief.

On the memorable morning of the eighth of January, general Packenham, having detached colonel Thornton with a considerable force, to attack the works on the right bank of the river, moved with his whole force, exceeding twelve thousand men, in two divisions, under major generals Gibbs and Kean; and a reserve under general Lambert. The first of these officers was to make the principal attack; the two columns were supplied with scaling ladders and fascines.

Thus prepared, the Americans patiently waited the attack, which would decide the fate of New Orleans, and perhaps of Louisiana.

The British deliberately advanced in solid columns, over an even plain, in front of the American entrenchments; the men carrying besides their muskets, fascines, and some of them ladders.

A dead silence prevailed, until they approached within reach of the batteries, which commenced an incessant and destructive cannonade; they, notwithstanding, continued to advance in

tolerable order, closing up their ranks, as fast as they were opened by the fire of the Americans. When they came within reach, however, of the musketry and rifles, these joined with the artillery, and produced such dreadful havoc, that they were instantly thrown into confusion.

Never was there so tremendous a fire, as that kept up from the American lines; it was a continued stream; those behind loading for the men in front, enabled them to fire with scarcely an intermission. The British columns were literally swept away; hundreds fell at every discharge. The British officers were now making an effort to rally their men, and in this attempt, their commander, a gallant officer, general Packenham, was killed,

The two generals, Gibbs and Kean, succeeded in pushing forward their columns a second time; but the second approach was more fatal than the first; the continued rolling fire of the Americans, resembled peals of thunder. It was such as no troops could withstand. The advancing columns broke, and no effort to rally them could avail; a few platoons, only, advanced to the edge of the ditch, to meet a more certain destruction. An unavailing attempt was made to rally them a third time, by their officers, whose gallantry, on this occasion, deserved a better fate, in a better cause. Generals Gibbs and Kean were carried away, severely wounded, the former mortally.

The plain between the front of the British, and the American lines, was strewed with dead; so dreadful a carnage, considering the length of time, and the numbers engaged, was perhaps never witnessed. Two thousand, at the lowest estimate, pressed the earth, besides a number of the wounded, who were not able to escape. The loss of the Americans did not exceed seven killed and six wounded. General Lambert was the only general officer left upon the field; being unable to check the flight of the British columns, he retired to his encampment.

In the meantime, the detachment under colonel Thornton succeeded in landing on the right bank, and immediately attacked the entrenchment of general Morgan. The American right, believing itself outflanked, abandoned its position, while the left maintained its ground for some time; but finding itself deserted by those on the right, and being outnumbered by the enemy, they spiked their guns and retired. Colonel Thornton was severely wounded, and the command devolved on colonel Gobbins, who, seeing the fate of the assault on the left bank, and receiving orders from general Lambert, recrossed the river.

On the return of general Lambert to his camp, it was resolved, in consultation with admiral Cochrane, to retire to their

shipping. This was effected with great secresy; and during the night of the eighteenth, their camp was entirely evacuated. From the nature of the country, it was found impossible to pursue them; they left eight of their wounded, and fourteen pieces of artillery. Their loss in this fatal expedition was immense; besides their generals, and a number of valuable officers, their force was diminished by at least five thousand men.

It was in vain, as in other instances, to conceal the truth of this affair; and the sensations which it produced in Great Britain, are not easily described: the conduct of the ministry was regarded as shamefully dishonorable, in thus stretching forth one hand to receive the olive, which was tendered by America, and at the same time secretly wielding a dagger with the other.

Commodore Patterson despatched five boats, under Mr. Shields, purser on the New Orleans station, in order to annoy the retreat of the British. This active and spirited officer succeeded in capturing several of their boats, and in taking a number of prisoners.

The glorious defence of New Orleans produced the most lively joy throughout the United States, mingled, however, with pity for a brave enemy, who had encountered so disastrous a defeat.

The British fleet had, at the same time, ascended the Mississippi, for the purpose of bombarding fort St. Philip, which was commanded by major Overton; but without being able to make any impression.

There is but little doubt, that the object of Great Britain was, to possess herself of Louisiana, and obtaining a cession from Spain, draw a cordon round the United States, and by that means strangle this young Hercules, as it were in the cradle. It is well known, that on board the fleet, they had brought all the officers necessary for the establishment of a civil government, even a collector of the port!

An American must tremble for his country, when he looks back at the danger we have escaped. That the British intended to deliver the city of New Orleans to be sacked by their soldiery, is very doubtful; and from the high character of sir Edward Packenham, it is highly improbable that he would have given, as the watchword of the occasion, *beauty and booty;* this was more probably spoken by some of the inferior officers, with a view of producing an excitement among the soldiery.

We have given the events of this battle in detail; because it may be considered as the most important in its consequences, of any which occurred during the war. As it will always occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of our country, we were

unwilling to bring it into a compass so small as necessarily to omit many of its features.

We turn now from this grand spectacle to the ravages of the contemptible Cockburn, who was pursuing a less dangerous, but more profitable occupation, in robbing the defenceless inhabitants of the Carolinas and Georgia. The produce of the plantations, household furniture and negroes were the trophies of his prowess. Let a *dark mantle* shade his memory from the light of military and naval renown.

The momentous intelligence of the defeat of the British at New Orleans, had scarcely ceased to operate upon the feelings of the people of the United States, when they received the welcome news of peace. These two events were joyfully celebrated, by illuminations throughout this land of freedom and independence.

To us the war is pregnant with important lessons. We have acquired a knowledge of our weakness and of our strength. Our confederation will rise like a pyramid, its base eternal. Our best policy is peace, if honourable; fair and honorable policy to all nations, preferring justice to profit. One lesson we have been taught, which was worth the sum we have paid for the war: THAT WE ARE WEAK IN THE PURSUIT OF CONQUEST, BUT ALL POWERFUL IN DEFENCE.

CHAPTER XVI.

General View of the United States.

Having now brought the history of our country down to the close of the war for "free trade and sailor's rights," we may be allowed to take a glance at the progress which we have made in the acquisition of territory by treaty and purchase, and of the prospects which open before us. We now number twenty-four states, one district, and six territories, the boundaries of which follow.

The boundary on the side of the Spanish dominions, according to the treaty with Spain, ratified in 1821, begins on the gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, and proceeds along the west bank of that river to the 33d degree of N. lat.; thence, by a line due north, to Red river; thence up that river, to the meridian of 100 degrees W. lon.; thence due north along that meridian to the river Arkansas; thence, along the south bank of the Arkansas to its source; thence due north or south

as the case may be, to the parallel of 42 degrees N. lat. and thence, along that parallel, to the Pacific ocean. On the side of the British dominions, the boundary begins in the Atlantic ocean, at the mouth of the river St. Croix, and proceeds up that river to its source; thence, due north, to the highlands which separate the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic; thence, along those highlands, in a S. W. direction, to the parallel of 45 degrees N. lat.; thence along that parallel to the river St. Lawrence; and thence, up that river, and the great lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, to the most northwestern point of the lake of the Woods. By the treaty with Great Britain in 1819, the boundary line proceeds from the last mentioned point due north or south, as the case may be, to the parallel of 49 degrees N. lat. and thence, due west along that parallel to the Rocky mountains. The boundary between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean remains unsettled.

The states are arranged according to their location, thus: *Eastern*—Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, *six*. *Middle*—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, *five*. *Southern*—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, *seven*. *Western*—Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, *six*. District of Columbia, the seat of the general government, a tract of ten miles square. *Territories*—Michigan, Northwest, Arkansas, Missouri, Oregon, Florida, *six*. States, District, and Territories, in all thirty-one. The extent from south to north, is twenty-four degrees, comprehended between 35° and 49° north latitude, and from east to west, fifty-eight degrees eleven minutes, west longitude, included between 66° 49′ and 135°. The whole containing two millions of square miles.

By the census of 1820, the whole population was nine millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-four. The District of Columbia, being of small extent, and embracing three populous places, Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, contains the most dense population, and averages three hundred and thirty on a square mile. Next in population is Massachusetts, which has seventy-two on the square mile. Connecticut fifty-eight, and Rhode Island fifty-three. Delaware thirty-four, New York thirty; Maryland twenty-nine; New Hampshire twenty-six; Vermont and Pennsylvania twenty-three; South Carolina twenty; Virginia seventeen; Ohio fifteen; Kentucky and North Carolina thirteen; Tennessee eleven; Georgia six; Louisiana and Alabama three; Mississippi two; Illinois and Missouri one; Michigan contains one inhabitant to about five square miles; Northwest unknown;

Arkansas, Missouri, and Oregon, contain a million of square miles; and the first more than fourteen thousand inhabitants. Florida has about one inhabitant to three square miles.

With a knowledge of the qualities of the soil, healthiness of the clime, water privileges and communications, those who wish to emigrate, can determine on the most eligible situation with a tolerable degree of accuracy, according to the business which they propose to pursue.

Another consideration with those who wish to change their place of residence, may sometimes be taken into the account, and this is the prevalence of religious opinion. Taking the whole of the Union collectively, the principal religious denominations are Presbyterians and Congregationalists, who have together more than 2,500 congregations; the Baptists, who have more than 2000 congregations; the Friends, who have more than 500 societies; and the Episcopalians, who have about 300. The Methodists, also, are very numerous. The Baptists and Methodists are found in all parts of the United States; the Congregationalists are almost wholly in New England; the Presbyterians are scattered over the Middle and Southern states; the Friends are most numerous in Pennsylvania and the adjoining states, and the Episcopalians, in New York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia. German Lutherans, German Calvinists, and Moravians are also numerous in the Middle states.

But besides these, the Unitarians are a fast increasing sect, of which a majority of the Congregational societies in Boston, are known to be, and more or less, the doctrine is spreading through the United State, though the principal part of the societies are supposed to be in New England. The Universalists are also numerous in Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont; and in the western counties of New York they abound. In New York city and Philadelphia, are several churches, and in South Carolina, Ohio, Alabama and Georgia, they are fast increasing.

Next to religious opinions, the sort of people among whom we purpose to fix a permanent abode, may very properly be considered. Of the United States the inhabitants consist of whites, negroes, and Indians.

The negroes are generally slaves, and are principally confined to the states south of Pennsylvania and the river Ohio. All the whites are of European origin; principallly English. The New-Englanders, Virginians, and Carolinians are almost purely English. Next to the English are the Germans, who are very numerous in the Middle states, particularly in Pennsylvania. Next to the Germans are the Dutch, who are most numerous in New York. The French constitute nearly half

the population of Louisiana. The Irish and Scotch are found in the Middle states, in the back parts of Virginia, and in all the principal cities of the Union. Very little is known about the Indians west of the Mississippi. The four principal tribes on the east of the Mississippi are the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws. These tribes live within the chartered limits of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee.

In a country of such great extent, the habits, manners, and general occupations of the people will of course differ materially. The eastern, or New England States, in the interior portions, have until lately, devoted their attention principally to agriculture, confined to such articles as are of prime necessity in sustaining life. The cities and towns on the seaboard, have attended to the fisheries and commerce generally. Lately they have been led to manufactures, particularly of cloths and cotton, for which their various streams are well adapted. The restrictions on commerce, if continued, will probably direct most of the capital hitherto occupied in foreign commerce, into this channel. The immence forests in some of the states, will, however, occupy numbers in the lumber trade, for years to come.

New England undoubtedly holds the first rank in literature, commerce, enterprise, and wealth, but in grandeur and sublimity, and the natural means of wealth, the western states are more than successful rivals. The plains and mountains, and rivers and forests of the newly settled parts of the new world, have no parallel in the eastern continent. The following description of the Prairies of Louisiana is extracted from Niles' Register, a work not exceeded in this country for the extent and value of its communications.

The districts of Attakapas and Oppelousas which stretch along the Mexican gulph, from the Attchaffallaya to the Sabine, are scarcely known to geographers, though they form a most interesting portion of the republic. The fertility of the soil, the value of its products—the immense natural meadows which cover five eights of the country, and their peculiar fitness for feeding cattle, are all worthy the attention of the shoals of emigrants who are seeking wealth or liberty, to the west and south. The accounts published by Brackenridge and Darby are most to be relied on; but neither of those writers have been sufficiently explicit, though each enjoyed opportunities of acquiring better information. The following statement may, perhaps, be perused with some interest by such as are pleased to note the rapid march which our country is making to power, and give the reader some idea of the vast resources of Louisana.

About the year 1755, a few French traders commenced a traffic for peltry with the Indians, who inhabited those prairies. They were soon followed by others, who remarking the great profits to be realized from stock-raising, introduced horned cattle into the country. Their success encouraged others to adventure; and we find from the census of 1785, that Attakapas and Oppelousas then contained 2408 inhabitants. In the year 1801, their population was rated at 7250, of which 3500 were slaves. Up to the last named epocha, stock raising formed the almost exclusive occupation of the inhabitants. They supplied New Orleans and the Mississippi coast with beef, at the rate of one cent and a fourth per pound; but even at this price many had amassed money enough to purchase slaves and commence farming establishments. The American government, which took place early in 1804, gave new stimulus, and induced the inhabitants to turn their attention more to planting. The soil and climate uniting with their exertions and industry, have secured to the first planters of those districts a most enviable independence. A few years ago they were a horde of shepherds, consequently a hardy and virtuous race. Of late their plan of life has changed, and their means rapidly increased, without introducing the thousand fictitious wants, which usually travel in the train of wealth. Even now, it is no uncommon sight to see a planter of those countries, owning, perhaps, seventy or eighty slaves, clad in the product of his wife's loom, attending to his horses, oxen, or crop, with more assiduity and attention than characterises a Carolina overseer:—yet, if a stranger visits him, he will find his table crowded with the best wines of the world, and no lack of intelligence or any thing else which forms good cheer. Riches here, appear to add only to the comforts of their possessor, without forming the invidious distinctions among men which exist in other parts of the world. The ease with which they are acquired, may be the reason of this—but the detached situation of the country accounts for it more rationally. Besides, the population is as yet quite thinly scattered over an immense territory, and wherever this is the case, we do not usually find so many of those little presuming animals, wearing the shapes of men, which are such great nuisances in thickly inhabited countries.

In 1810, Attakapas and Oppelousas, contained 13,774 souls. For two years after the census was taken there was a great emigration to the country. It was stopped early in 1813, by the pressure of the war, but since the peace has recommenced. At present (Sept. 1817) I feel confident the population would be estimated too low at 20,000.

It is the custom for the rich and gay young people of Louisiana and Mississippi, to spend their carnival at New Orleans. The health enjoyed by the young ladies of the prairies, added to their active and industrious habits, gives them bloom and beauty which cast the belles of other districts into the shade. It is a singular fact, that for thirteen winters past, the reigning toast in the Orleans ball rooms has been, almost, always from Attakapas, or Oppelousas.

The topography of those counties are pretty accurately delineated on Darby's map of Louisiana. His book is a very inferior production to his map, and not much to be relied on as useful information. I will here add a few words concerning the soil and its productions, but as these vary in an extent of country, containing about 300,000 square miles, I will consider the districts separately.

Oppelousas, lying to the north-west of Attakapas, is well calculated for a grazing country. Its prairies are very extensive, and the greater parts of the land second and third rate. The lands of the best quality in this country are in its south west corner, consisting of a strip about 26 miles long and eight wide. In this tract are situated many large plantations which yield immense profits to their proprietors. The northern part of the country, bordering on Rapide district, is poor land, and the western section which skirts the Gulph and the River Sabine, is little better. Those lands, however, produce tolerable corn, and a coarse luxuriant grass which can feed cattle enough to supply the home and West India markets.

Attakapas is divided into two parishes, St. Mary and St. Martin. The Vermilion river rises in Oppelousas, and on entering St. Martin's becomes a considerable stream. The lands on its banks are high and generally of the best quality. After a course of ninety miles in this parish it falls into a bay of the same name near the 30th degree of north lattitude. Between the Vermilllon and the Minton (the western limit of Attakapas) lies a prairie country which in soil is nothing remarkable, but affords excellent pasturage.

The Tesche, likewise, rises in Oppelousas near the source of the Vermillion. Its general course is to the south east, piercing the western sections of St. Martin and St. Mary. It meets the Alchaffallaya at Berwick's bay, and is navigable for seventy miles from its mouth for the largest boats, and for smaller craft almost to its source. From the line of Oppelousas to Berwick's bay, a distance of more than ninety miles, there is no soil on its banks which is not first rate. As it approaches the sea, however, the land is thought to improve, and the climate certainly becomes more favorable to the culture of sugar. Between the upper part of the Tesche and the Vermillion, in

the Parish of St. Martin, lies a rich tract of country principally prairie. It is as yet very partially settled, owing to the scarcity of wood. This cannot form a permanent impediment, as trees, when planted in those meadows and shielded from the vernal burnings of the grass, thrives faster than any soil I have ever seen. Several persons have already tried the experiment, and find four or five years sufficient to grow any supply of fire wood they may want. Besides, there is not any part of the *rich* meadows of Attakapas more than five miles distant from plenty of wood. The climate is, at the same time so mild that fuel is little wanted but for the kitchen.

The good lands of Oppelousas and St Martin's are best adapted to the culture of cotton. They sent to New Orleans last year about 6,000 bales of fine cotton, and if the whole of their rich soil was cultivated might produce annually more than sixty thousand bales. About five thousand steers are each year exported from those districts, which sell at home for 12 dollars each.

The parish of St. Mary's, being the southern part of the tract of country under consideration, is well adapted for the culture of sugar. This was doubted until some of the enterprizing American emigrants tested it, in the last two years, by the most successful experiments. It is found to succeed as well, if not better, than on the Mississippi, and the cane is certainly brought to maturity with less labor. Cotton also succeeds remarkably well, but will soon give way to sugar. In the year 1816, this parish, with a population of about 3,000 souls, sent to market 2,500 bales of cotton, 900 hogsheads of sugar, and 800 beef cattle, which sold for $350,000.

Some sugar has been cultivated in Oppelousas and St. Martin's, but owing to mismanagement, or the climate, it has not succeeded well.

The parish of St. Mary is in no place more than 10 miles wide, having the sea on one side and lake Platt and the Attchaffallaya on the other, which may have an influence on the early frosts, and protect the cane crop till it reaches maturity.

The Tesche lands lie mostly from ten to fifteen feet above the highest swells produced by the Mississippi floods. In the year 1813 and 15, when there were very great freshes, the lakes between the prairies and the Mississippi, and with them the Tesche, rose about 8 feet above their common level. But a recurrence of this can scarcely be expected, as the levees on the Great River are rapidly extending, which will prevent its waters from flowing into the lakes. But even if the levees should be demolished, the prairies are too high ever to be inundated.

The Vermillion is never affected by the Mississippi. The lands on its banks (and indeed in every other part of the country except the Tesche) are from 30 to 100 feet above the level of the sea.

Sloops of 100 tons can ascend to the Tesche to Nova Iberia, 60 miles from its mouth, though the produce of the country is seldom carried direct to the ocean, the Tesche, Atchaffallaya communicate with the Mississippi by the Lafourch and Plaquamine—a voyage from any part of those rivers can be easily made to New Orleans in nine days.

Along the coast of Attakapas are found four Islands, viz. Belle Isle, Cole Blanche, Grand Cote, and Petite Ance, which bear no resemblance to the main land, and appear to be remnants of some ancient continent. They rise several hundred feet above the tides, and I would suppose originally belonged to a high diversified country. Be this as it may, they have a very fertile soil and produce the best sugar and cotton of Louisiana. The four islands contain about 7000 superficial acres of good land. There are sugar establishments on all but Belle isle. There are other Islands lying in the Attchaffallaya, or Berwick's bay, which have a very good soil, but once in ten or fifteen years have been liable to be overflowed by the heaviest swells of the Mississippi.

In Oppelousas about one third of the population is Americans. In St. Martin's one fifth, and in St Mary's more than a moiety. The rest are principally French.

Lands throughout the whole country are to be had at a very low rate; though they are rising every day in value. Good tracts in the parish of St. Mary's, with plenty of wood, may be had for two and three dollars the acre.

With a salubrious climate, a rich soil and industrious population, Attakapas and Oppelousas will soon not only be called the richest counties of Louisiana, but outstrip in agriculture any section of the union. Such a country is worthy of observation, and with the hope that the remarks I have made may result to the advantage of emigrants, I submit them to my countrymen.

As every thing relating to the grand events which gave birth to our national independence are, and ought to be interesting to present and future generations, we insert below, a letter from the late President Adams to Mr. Niles, editor of the weekly Register, published at Baltimore. The letter is preceded by remarks from the pen of that very able editor.

Those who delight to trace the early dawnings of the American Revolution, in the emphatical meaning of the venerable writer of the following article, and to ascertain the feelings and character of some of those who first laboured to bring about an event, the effect of which has only just begun, with conse-

quences in its train which no man can estimate,—will be grateful for this tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead, from the pen of such a distinguished co-adjutor and co-patriot, as John Adams. Zealous to afford the *pabulum animi* to the republican American,—and convinced that in such things he will find new causes to love his country and those who emancipated it, we feel an honest pride in being made the medium for giving them to our fellow citizens; who, if we do not greatly mistake the public feeling, indeed, will joyfully receive information that a sketch of the character of Samuel Adams may be expected from the pen of his distinguished cousin, counsellor, co-actor, and friend.

Quincy, February 13, 1818.

Mr. Niles—The American Revolution was not a common event. Its effects and consequences have already been awful over a great part of the globe. And when and where are they to cease?

But what do we mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American war? The Revolution was effected before the War commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people. A change in their religious sentiments, of their duties and obligations. While the king and all in authority under him, were believed to govern in justice and mercy according to the laws and constitution derived to them from the God of nature, and transmitted to them by their ancestors —they thought themselves bound to pray for the king and queen and all the royal family, and all in authority under them; as ministers ordained of God for their good. But when they saw those powers renouncing all the principles of authority, and bent upon the destruction of all the securities of their lives, liberties, and properties, they thought it their duty to pray for the continental congress, and all the thirteen state congresses.

There might be, and there were others, who thought less about religion and conscience, but had certain habitual sentiments of allegiance and loyalty derived from their education; but believing allegiance and protection to be reciprocal, when protection was withdrawn, they thought allegiance was dissolved.

Another alteration was common to all. The people of America had been educated in an habitual affection for England as their mother country; and while they thought her a kind and tender parent, (erroneously enough however, for she never was such a mother,) no affection could be more sincere. But when they found her a cruel beldam, willing, like lady Macbeth, to "dash their brains out," it is no wonder if their filial affections ceased, and were changed into indignation and horror.

This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people, was the real American Revolution.

By what means, this great and important alteration in the religious, moral, political, and social character of the people of thirteen colonies, all distinct, unconnected, and independent of each other, was begun, pursued, and accomplished, it is surely interesting to humanity to investigate, and perpetuate to posterity.

To this end it is greatly to be desired that young gentlemen of letters, in all the states, especially in the thirteen original states, would undertake the laborious, but certainly interesting and amusing task, of searching and collecting all the records, pamphlets, newspapers, and even hand-bills, which in any way contributed to change the temper and views of the people, and compose them into an independent nation.

The colonies had grown up under constitutions of government so different, there was so great a variety of religions, they were composed of so many different nations, their customs, manners and habits had so little resemblance, and their intercourse had been so rare, and their knowledge of each other so imperfect, that to unite them in the same principles in theory, and the same system of action, was certainly a very difficult enterprise. The complete accomplishment of it, in so short a time, and by such simple means, was perhaps, a singular example in the history of mankind.—Thirteen clocks were made to strike together; a perfection of mechanism which no artist had ever before effected.

In this research, the glorioroles of individual gentlemen and of separate states is of little consequence. The *means and the measures* are the proper objects of investigation. These may be of use to posterity, not only in this nation, but in South America, and all other countries. They may teach mankind, that revolutions are no trifles; they ought never to be undertaken rashly; nor without deliberate consideration and sober reflection; nor without a solid, immutable, eternal foundation of justice and humanity; nor without a people possessed of intelligence, fortitude, and integrity, sufficient to carry them with steadiness, patience, and perseverance, through all the vicissitudes of fortune, the fiery trials and melancholy disasters they may have to encounter.

The town of Boston early instituted an annual oration on the fourth of July, in commemoration of the principles and feelings which contributed to produce the revolution. Many of those orations I have heard, and all that I could obtain I have read. Much ingenuity and eloquence appear upon every subject, except those principles and feelings. That of my honest and

amiable neighbour, Josiah Quincy, appeared to me the most directly to the purpose of the institution. Those principles and feelings ought to be traced back for two hundred years, and sought in the history of the country from the first plantations in America. Nor should the principles and feelings of the English and Scotch towards the colonies, through that whole period, ever be forgotten.—The perpetual discordance between British principles and feelings and those of America, the next year after the suppression of the French power in America, came to a crisis, and produced an explosion.

It was not until after the annihilation of the French dominion in America, that any British ministry had dared to gratify their own wishes, and the desire of the nation, by projecting a formal plan for raising a national revenue from America, by parliamentary taxation. The first great manifestation of this design was by the order to carry into strict execution those acts of parliament which were well known by the appellation of the *acts of trade*, which had lain a dead letter, unexecuted for half a century, and some of them I believe for nearly a whole one.

This produced, in 1760 and 1761, an *awakening* and a *revival* of American principles and feelings, with an enthusiasm which went on increasing, till, in 1775, it burst out in open violence, hostility, and fury.

The characters, the most conspicuous, the most ardent and influential, in this revival from 1760 to 1766, were—first and foremost, before all and above all, James Otis; next to him was Oxenbridge Thatcher; next to him Samuel Adams; next to him John Hancock; then Dr. Mayhew, then Dr. Cooper and his brother. Of Mr. Hancock's life, character, generous nature, great and disinterested sacrifices, and important services, I should be glad to write a volume. But this I hope will be done by some younger and abler hand. Mr. Thatcher, because his name and merits are less known, must not be wholly omitted. This gentleman was an eminent barrister at law, in as large practice as any one in Boston. There was not a citizen of that town more universally beloved for his learning, ingenuity, every domestic and social virtue, and conscientious conduct in every relation of life. His patriotism was as ardent as his progenitors had been ancient and illustrious in this country. Hutchinson often said, "Thatcher was not born a plebeian, but he was determined to die one." In May, 1763, I believe, he was chosen by the town of Boston one of their representatives in the legislature, a colleague with Mr. Otis, who had been a member from May 1761, and he continued to be re-elected annually till his death in 1765, when Mr. Samuel Adams was elected to fill his place, in the absence of Mr. Otis, then attending the congress at New York. Thatcher had long been

jealous of the unbounded ambition of Mr. Hutchinson, but when he found him not content with the office of lieutenant governor, the command of the castle, and its emoluments, of judge of probate for the county of Suffolk, a seat in his majesty's council in the legislature, his brother-in-law secretary of state by the king's commision, a brother of that secretary of state a judge of the supreme court and a member of council, now in 1760 and 1761, soliciting and accepting the office of chief justice of the superior court of judicature, he concluded, as Mr. Otis did, and as every enlightened friend of his country did, that he sought that office with the determined purpose of determining all causes in favor of the ministry at St. James' and their servile parliament.

His indignation against him henceforward, to 1765, when he died, knew no bounds but truth. I speak from personal knowledge.—For, from 1758 to 1765, I attended every superior and inferior court in Boston, and recollect not one in which he did not invite me home to spend evenings with him, when he made me converse with him as well as I could, on all subjects of religion, morals, law, politics, history, philosophy, belle-lettres, theology, mythology, cosmogony, metaphysicks,—Locke, Clark, Leibnitz, Bolingbroke, Berkley,—the pre-established harmony of the universe, the nature of matter and spirit, and the eternal establishment of coincidences between their operation; fate, foreknowledge, absolute—and we reasoned on such unfathomable subjects as high as Milton's gentry in pandemonium; and we understood them as well as they did, and no better. To such mighty mysteries he added the news of the day, and the tittle tattle of the town. But his favorite subject was politics, and the impending threatening system of parliamentary taxation, and universal government over the colonies. On this subject he was so anxious and agitated that I have no doubt it occasioned his premature death. From the time when he argued the question of writs of assistance to his death, he considered the king, ministry, parliament and nation of Great Britain, as determined to new model the colonies from the foundation; to annul all their charters, to constitute them all royal governments; to raise a revenue in America by parliamentary taxation; to apply that revenue to pay the salaries of governors, judges, and all other crown officers; and after all this, to raise as large a revenue as they pleased, to be applied to national purposes, at the exchequer in England; and further, to establish bishops, and the whole system of the church of England, tythes and all, throughout all British America. This system, he said, if it was suffered to prevail, would extinguish the flame of liberty all over the world; that America would be employed as an engine to batter down all the miserable remains of liberty

in Great Britain and Ireland, where only any semblance of it was left in the world. To this system he considered Hutchinson, the Olivers, and all their connexions, dependents, adherents, shoelickers—all entirely devoted. He asserted that they were all engaged with all the crown officers in America, and the understrappers of the ministry in England, in a deep and treasonable conspiracy to betray the liberties of their country, for their own private, personal, and family aggrandizement. His philippicks against the unprincipled ambition and avarice of all of them, but especially of Hutchinson, were unbridled; not only in private, confidential conversations, but in all companies, and on all occasions, he gave Hutchinson the sobriquet of "Summa Potestatis," and rarely mentioned him but by the name of "Summa." His liberties of speech were no secrets to his enemies. I have sometimes wondered that they did not throw him over the bar, as they did soon afterwards major Hawley. For they hated him worse than they did James Otis, or Samuel Adams, and they feared him more, because they had no revenge for a father's disappointment of a seat on the superior bench, to impute to him, as they did to Otis; and Thatcher's character through life had been so modest, decent, unassuming, his morals so pure, and his religion so venerated, that they dared not attack him. In his office were educated to the bar, two eminent characters, the late judge Lowell, and Josiah Quincy, aptly called the Boston Cicero. Mr. Thatcher's frame was slender, his constitution delicate; whether his physicians overstrained his vessels with mercury, when he had the small pox by inoculation at the castle, or whether he was overplyed by public anxieties and exertions, the small pox left him in a decline from which he never recovered. Not long before his death, he sent for me to commit to my care some of his business at the bar. I asked him whether he had seen the Virginia resolves: "Oh yes—they are men! They are noble spirits! It kills me to think of the lethargy and stupidity that prevail here. I long to be out. I will go out. I will go out. I will go into court, and make a speech which shall be read after my death, as my dying testimony against this infernal tyranny they are bringing upon us." Seeing the violent agitation into which it threw him, I changed the subject as soon as possible, and retired. He had been confined for some time. Had he been abroad among the people, he would not have complained so pathetically of the "lethargy and stupidity that prevailed," for town and country were all alive; and in August became active enough, and some of the people proceeded to unwarrantable excesses, which were more lamented by the patriots, than by their enemies. Mr. Thatcher soon died, deeply lamented by all the friends of their country.

Another gentleman who had great influence in the commencement of the revolution, was doctor Jonathan Mayhew, a descendant of the ancient governor of Martha's Vineyard. This divine had raised a great reputation, both in Europe and America, by the publication of a volume of seven sermons in the reign of king George the second, 1749, and by many other writings; particularly a sermon in 1750, on the thirtieth of January, on the subject of passive obedience and non-resistance, in which the saintship and martyrdom of king Charles the first are considered, seasoned with wit and satire superior to any in Swift or Franklin. It was read by every body; celebrated by friends, and abused by enemies. During the reigns of king George the first and king George the second, the reigns of the Stuarts, the two Jameses and the two Charleses were in general disgrace in England. In America, they had always been held in abhorrence. The persecutions and cruelties suffered by their ancestors under those reigns, had been transmitted by history and tradition; and Mayhew seemed to be raised up to revive all their animosity against tyranny, in church and state, and at the same time to destroy their bigotry, fanaticism and inconsistency. David Hume's plausible, elegant, fascinating, and fallacious apology, in which he varnished over the crimes of the Stuarts, had not then appeared. To draw the character of Mayhew would be to transcribe a dozen volumes. This transcendant genius threw all the weight of his great fame into the scale of his country in 1761, and maintained it there with zeal and ardor till his death in 1766. In 1763 appeared the controversy between him and Mr. Apthorp, Mr. Caner, Dr. Johnson and Archbishop Secker, on the charter and conduct of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. To form a judgment of this debate, I beg leave to refer to a review of the whole, printed at the time, and written by Samuel Adams, though by some, very absurdly and erroneously, ascribed to Mr. Apthorp. If I am not mistaken, it will be found a model of candor, sagacity, impartiality, and close, correct reasoning.

If any gentleman supposes this controversy to be nothing to the present purpose, he is grossly mistaken. It spread an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and dioceses, and churches, and priests and tythes, were to be imposed upon us by parliament. It was known that neither king nor ministry, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America without an act of parliament; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the church of England with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tythes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism shops.

Nor must Mr. Cushing be forgotten. His good sense and sound judgment, the urbanity of his manners, his universal good character, his numerous friends and connexions, and his continual intercourse with all sorts of people, added to his constant attachment to the liberties of his country, gave him a great and salutary influence from the beginning in 1760.

Let me recommend these hints to the consideration of Mr. Wirt, whose life of Mr. Henry I have read with great delight. I think, that after mature investigation he will be convinced that Mr. Henry did not "give the first impulse to the ball of independence," and that Otis, Thatcher, Samuel Adams, Mayhew, Hancock, Cushing, and thousands of others were laboring for several years at the wheel, before the name of Mr. Henry was heard beyond the limits of Virginia.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE OF THE

Population of the United States.

The northern and eastern sections of the Union are far less favoured by nature for the production of the fruits of the earth, than the southern and western. And hence emigrations are frequent, and the drain of inhabitants great. And yet the fact is evident, that in New England the population is constantly and rapidly increasing. By comparing the census of 1810 with that of 1820, we pereeive a very regular progression, and with very few exceptions, an increase equal to that which might be expected, even without the loss of emigrants. During the ten years mentioned, in Maine, the most barren state in New England, the nett gain of inhabitants was near 70,000 being an addition of nearly one third of its former numbers. The increase was in all the counties. In the same time New Hampshire gained about 30,000, being an increase of more than one ninth of her former numbers, and no loss in either of her counties. In Vermont, the increase was about 18,000, and no loss in any section of the state. In Massachusetts, the gain was 51,000, being an increase of about one eighth. Berkshire county lost two hundred and seventeen, and Duke's county gained but two. In Rhode Island, the gain was much less than might be expected, considering the flourishing state of manufactures, and the encouragement held out to enterprise. The whole increase was but about 6,000, being one twelfth of her former population. In Newport county, the loss was about five hundred. In Connecticut, the gain was 14,000, being an increase of about one twentieth of its former numbers. Thus the nett increase in the New England states, during ten years, was 183,000.

We come now to the great state of New York, which is divided into four large districts, viz. South, Middle, Eastern, and Western. The gain of inhabitants in the South, during ten years, was nearly 39,000, of which New York city and county received about 27,000. The gain in the Middle district was 37,000. In the Eastern, the increase was 23,000, in which is Washington county, which lost during this time, nearly six thousand. The greatest increment was in the Western district, which nearly doubled in the aggregate, and some of the counties of which, more than tripled their former numbers. St. Lawrence, Courtland, Broome, and Ontario doubled; and Genesee increased more than four fold. The whole gain in the state was 413,763, which is an addition to the census of 1810, of one half, wanting a fraction. The population of the state may now be fairly estimated at sixteen hundred thousand. New Jersey exhibits a regular progression, having added to her population but thirty-two thousand, each of the counties having contribnted about a fair proportion. The addition is about one seventh in ten years. Pennsylvania exhibits a considerable increase during this period, but the result in the different counties is very unequal. Cleafield, Erie, Jefferson, M'Kean, Tioga, and Warren, have about doubled, and some of them more than tripled their numbers, while Cumberland, Dauphin, and Northampton, have lost thousands, and Northumberland, alone, twenty-one thousand, being three thousand more than half its former inhabitants. The whole increment to the state during ten years, was 239,307, of which Philadelphia city and county claim nearly twenty-six thousand. Delaware had gained but seventy-five during this time, the whole population in 1820, amounting to less than 73,000. In Maryland, the following counties diminished about thirteen thousand in ten years, viz. Charles, Montgomery, Harford, Queen Ann, and Dorchester. The whole gain in the state, however, was near twenty-seven thousand, the whole population being more than four hundred and seven thousand.

Having now come in course to the District of Columbia, a particular description may be desirable, at least so far as the principal city is worthy of note.

Washington city, the metropolis of the United States, is pleasantly situated on the N. E. bank of the river Potomac, at the point of land formed by the junction of the Eastern branch, 300 miles from the mouth of the river, and 3 miles below the head of the tide. It is separated from Georgetown on the N. W. by Rock creek, and Tyber creek passes though the middle of the city. Washington is regularly laid out in streets running due north and south, intersected by others at right angles. Besides these streets, which are from 80 to 110 feet wide, there

are avenues, from 130 to 160 feet broad, which diverge from centres in various parts of the city, crossing the other streets transversely. At the points from which the avenues diverge are spacious squares. The ground embraced in the plan of the city is very extensive, but only a small portion of it is yet occupied with buildings.

The principal public buildings and establishments are, 1. The *Capitol*, which is finely situated on an eminence, commanding a view of every part of the city, and a considerable portion of the adjacent country. According to the original plan, it is to be composed of a central edifice and two wings. The two wings were in a state of considerable forwardness in 1814, when the British army, under general Ross, gained possession of the city and destroyed them, together with the President's house and other public structures, and an extensive library, which had been purchased for the use of Congress. The wings of the capitol are now rebuilt, and the central building has been commenced. The wings are each 100 feet square, and the whole building, when completed, will be a magnificent edifice, presenting a front of 362 feet. 2. The *President's house*, situated about a mile and a half west of the capitol, on the avenue leading to Georgetown. It is 170 feet by 85, and two stories high. 3. Four spacious buildings erected in the vicinity of the President's house, for the accommodation of the heads of the great departments of government. 4. An extensive navy yard, situated on the Eastern branch, which forms a safe and commodious harbour. 5. A fort, which, from the extreme southern point of the land on which the city stands, commands the channel of the Potomac, and, 6. the general post-office, a brick edifice, about a mile W. N. W. of the capitol. The style of the architecture of the capitol is Corinthian, and that of the president's house, Ionic; and both buildings are constructed of free stone. The capitol square is enclosed by a strong and handsome iron railing; and being planted with trees, and otherwise ornamented, will afford a delightful walk for the inhabitants and visiters of the city. The amount expended by the United States on the public buildings, previously to their destruction by the British, in August, 1814, was $1,214,291, and there have been appropriated towards rebuilding the same, $1,207,783.

Besides the buildings and establishments above enumerated, Washington contains a city hall, a theatre, a college, 4 banks, several manufacturing establishments, and 12 houses for public worship, 3 for Presbyterians, 2 for Episcopalians, 2 for Baptists, 2 for Methodists, 2 for Catholics, and 1 for Friends. There is a bridge about one mile long over the Potomac, three over the Eastern Branch, and 2 over Rock creek. The population of Washington in 1800 was 3,210; in 1810, 8,208; and in 1820, 13,247, of whom 3,741 were blacks.

The whole gain in the district, during ten years, was nine thousand.

The southern states except Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, afford but small inducements for the settlement of emigrants. The two former have considerably increased, and the latter nearly doubled her numbers in ten years. Tennessee has increased in the same ratio, and Kentucky has gained more than fifteen thousand annually, numbering at the last census nearly six hundred thousand. But in point of gain in numbers, Ohio takes the lead of all her sister states, having increased from 1810 to 1820, 350,674, and, at the last census, was noted down at 581,434.

Having now digressed a little from the track of history, without entirely losing our way, we shall return to the thread of our work, as connected more particularly with the doings of our government.

CHAPTER XVII.

President Monroe's Administration.

Mr Monroe was sworn into office as President of the United States, on the fourth of March 1817, and entered on his duties, under favourable auspices. On his accession to the presidency, the country was in a prosperous state. War had ceased, and with it much of the asperity of political excitement, and party bickering. But to repair the losses of the war, and to regain the commercial prosperity which had been nearly annihilated, was not the work of a moment. Much of the commerce to which our attention had been turned, had fallen into other hands, and ship building excepting for the navy, had been nearly forgotten. Our country was inundated by foreign fabrics, and the specie which had been borrowed at a great premium, was fast leaving the country. But still, the inaugural address of the president was encouraging, and he anticipated a return of our former prosperity.

During the summer and autumn of 1817, the president made a tour through the northern and eastern sections of the union, where his presence was welcomed with the greatest cordiality, and party feeling seemed merged in national patriotism. But, in this journey, the national interests were a principal object. Large sums had been appropriated by the national legislature for the defence of the sea coast, the safety of our inland frontier, the increase of the navy, and the establishments of nation-

al docks; the superintendence of which was committed to the president. That he might discharge his duties with fidelity and judgment, he determined to obtain the necessary information by personal observation. From Washington, which he left on the first of June, he went by land to Boston, passing through the principal cities on his route, amidst the congratulations and benedictions of a happy people. From Boston where he spent several days, he passed through Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth, to Portland, whence his course was directed to Plattsburg, N. Y. This important post occcupied his attention several days. His course thence was directed to Detroit, through Ogdensburg and Sacketts' Harbour. On the 17th of September, he arrived at Washington, having travelled three thousand miles in little more than three months.

On the first of December, congress convened; and the message of the president stated that our national credit was rising, and that the defences of the country were in a state of forwardness; that arrangements were made with Great Britain, to reduce the naval force of the two countries on the lakes; that each country was to retain possession of the islands as before the late war; and that our foreign relations were of a pacific character. He also specially recommended the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army, to the notice of congress, and pressingly advocated a repeal of the internal duties, as needless to be continued any longer.

Mississippi was admitted into the union, as an independent state, on the eleventh, with the usual formalities. In the course of the same month, an expedition which had been set on foot against Florida, by foreign adventurers, was checked by the troops of the United States. The actors claimed authority under the colonies of South America, and had formed an establishment at Amelia Island, a Spanish province. The American government therefore saw proper to take possession of the island, and break up the haunt of a lawless banditti.

Another establishment similar in its profession and practices, was formed at Galvezton, an island on the Texas coast, belonging to the United States. Slaves in considerable numbers were thus smuggled into the country, and importations of goods were made through the same channel, in a clandestine manner. A naval force, with troops was sent against them, and the island surrendered without loss of blood.

During this session several important bills passed the ordeal of congress, particularly that for the relief of revolutionary officers and soldiers. In April 1818, Illinois adopted a state constitution, and in December following, was admitted into the union.

In May 1818, the president left Washington, to view the extensive shores of the Chesapeake bay, and embarking at Annapolis, examined the coast and waters, with a view of ascertaining the propriety of establishing a naval depot in that vicinity, and having accomplished the object of his visit, returned through Virginia, to the seat of government, which he reached on the 17th of June. He every where experienced the same welcome reception which he met in his tour through the northern states during the preceding year.

On the 27th of May, the president and senate ratified the treaty, concluded between Mr. Russel and the Swedish government, and the same was ratified by the king of Sweden, on the 24th of July following.

The Seminole Indians, urged on as is supposed by foreign emissaries who resided among them, and several murders were committed, but the Indians refused to give up the guilty, alleging that the whites were the original aggressors. In consequence of this refusal, general Gaines was ordered to remove, discretionaly, such Indians as were still on the lands ceded by the Creeks to the United States.

In the execution of this order one man and woman were killed, and two women made prisoners. Soon after this, the Indians fired on a second detachment who resisted them, and a skirmish ensued, in which several were killed and wounded.

Shortly after this event, Lieutenant Scott, with a detachment of forty men, seven women, and some children, ascending the Appalachicola, with supplies for the garrison at Fort Scott, were attacked, and the whole party killed, excepting six men, who made their escape, and a woman who was taken prisoner.

From this time, the war became serious. The Indians, in considerable numbers, were embodied, and an open attack was made on Fort Scott, to which general Gaines with about six hundred regular soldiers was for a time confined. Information of this state of things being communicated to the department of war, general Jackson was ordered, Dec. 26, to take the field, and directed if he should deem the force with general Gaines, amounting to one thousand and eight hundred men, insufficient to cope with the enemy, "to call on the executives of the adjacent states for such an additional militia force as he might deem requisite." On the receipt of this order, general Jackson prepared to comply; but instead of calling on the executives of the neighbouring states, especially on the governour of Tennesse, who lived near his residence, he addressed a circular to the patriots of West Tennessee, inviting one thousand of them to join his standard.

At the same time he wrote to the governour of Tennessee, M'Minn, informing him of the appeal he had made to the men whom he had led to victory on the plains of Talledega, Emuckfau, and Tohopeko, and added, "should the appeal prove inefficacious, I will embrace the earliest opportunity of making the requisition on you for a like number of drafted militia." The call of general Jackson was promptly obeyed, and the thousand volunteers, officered by the general, or by the volunteers themselves, were ordered to Fort Scott.

Before taking up his march, he wrote, Jan. 12th, to the secretary of war, apprising him of the appeal he had made to the Tennesseeans, assigning as his reason for such a step, that he deemed the force with general Gaines, one thousand eight hundred, insufficient, and "that the greater portion of this number were drafted militia from Georgia, who might apply for their discharge at the expiration of three months from the time they were mustered," about the time he should probably reach Fort Scott. To this communication the secretary replied—"I have the honour to acquaint you of the entire approbation of the president, of all the measures which you have adopted to terminate the rupture with the Indians."

Believing that the Seminoles could not be subdued, unless they were followed into Florida, general Jackson marched upon St. Marks, a weak garrison, where a portion of them had taken refuge. Possession of the fort was taken easily, and occupied by Jackson as an American post. The main army then marched to Suwaney river, where they consumed an Indian village. At this time the court martial was held, at which Alexander Arbuthnot, and Robert C. Ambrister were tried and condemned to death. Two Indian chiefs were hung without trial. The following is extracted from the doings of the court.

"The court, on examination of evidence, and on mature deliberation, find the prisoner, Robert C. Ambrister, guilty of the first and second charges, and do therefore sentence him to suffer *death* by being *shot*. The members requesting a reconsideration of the vote on this sentence, and it being had, they sentence the prisoner to receive fifty stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain, to hard labour for twelve calendar months. The commanding general approves the finding and sentence of the court, in the case of A. Arbuthnot, and approves the finding and *first* sentence of the court, in the case of Robert C. Ambrister, and disapproves the reconsideration of the sentence of the honourable court in this case.

"It appears from the evidence and pleading of the prisoner, that he did lead and command within the territory of Spain, (being a subject of Great Britain,) the Indians in war against

the United States, those nations being at peace. It is an established principle of the laws of nations, that any individual of a nation, making war against the citizens of any other nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance, and becomes an outlaw and pirate. This is the case of Robert C. Ambrister clearly shown by the evidence adduced.

"The commanding general orders that brevet Major A. C. D. Fanning, of the corps of artillery, will have between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, A. M. A. Arbuthnot suspended by the neck with a rope, until he is *dead*, and Robert C. Ambrister to be shot to *death*, agreeably to the sentence of the court."

General Jackson soon received information, that the governor of Pensacola favoured the Indians, on the knowledge of which, he took up the line of march for the capital, where he arrived at the end of twenty days. The place was taken with hardly a show of resistance. The governor having escaped to Barancas, a fort six miles distant, it was invested by the American troops, and taken, after a resistance of two days, the troops being transported to Havana. A military government was instituted of which information was given to the secretary of war.—The president, however, soon restored the country to the Spaniards, giving the reasons for its occupation,

The singular steps taken by the commanding general in this affair—excited considerable sensations in the minds of Americans, and the subjects of complaint were brought before congress. A military committee censured his conduct, but the house did not concur.

In January, 1819, a convention between the United States and Great Britain, was sanctioned by the president, and ratified by the Prince Regent in November following. The first article of this instrument, gave liberty to the citizens of the United States, to take fish on the northern, western, and southern banks of Newfoundland. By the second, the northern boundaries of the United States, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stoney Mountains were established. The fourth extended the term of the convention of 1815, relative to Commerce, ten years longer

In February following, East and West Florida, with the adjacent islands, were ceded to the United States by Spain. This treaty settled the boundaries between the two countries. But the ratification of this treaty was delayed by the king of Spain, under pretence that an expedition against Texas had been fitted out by the United States. The necessary explanations were made by the president, and a bill was introduced into Congress, to take possession of Florida, but the step was not taken, and in October, the treaty was ratified by the king of

Spain. Formal possession was given to the United States in July following.

In the Spring of 1819, Arkansas was admitted into the union as an independent state. During the summer, the president visited the southern section of the United States, with a view to the great interests of the nation. He passed through Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Nashville, the Cherokee nation, Louisville, Lexington, and thence returned to Washington. In December, Alabama was admitted into the union. This territory having long been a bone of contention, we add the following :—

After the peace of 1783, Georgia laid claim to this terrritory, and exercised jurisdiction over it, until the beginning of the present century. In 1795, an act passed the legislature of Georgia, by which twenty five millions of acres, of its *western territory*, were sold to companies for five hundred thousand dollars, and the purchase money was paid into the treasury. The purchasers of these lands soon after sold them at advanced prices. The sale of the territory excited a warm opposition in Georgia, and at a subsequent meeting of the legislature, the transaction was impeached on the ground of bribery, corruption, and unconstitutionality. The records respecting the sale were ordered to be *burnt*, and the five hundred thousand dollars to be refunded to the purchasers. Those who had acquired titles of the original purchasers instituted suits in the federal courts. In 1802, however, Georgia ceded to the United States all her western territory, for one million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. On this event, the purchasers of the Yazoo land petitioned congress for redress and compensation. After considerable opposition, an act passed for reimbursing them with funded stock, called the Mississippi stock.

In the following year, Maine, which had formerly belonged to Massachusetts was erected into an independent state, and joined the federal Union. The separation from the parent state was on the most amicable terms.

Mr. Monroe having been re-elected president, took the usual oath of office on the 5th of March, 1821, and Mr. Tompkins was again elected vice president. On the 10th of August, the proclamation of the president announced, that Missouri was admitted into the federal compact as an integral part.

Upon the cession of Louisiana to the United States, the district, which now forms the state of Louisiana, was separated from the territory and made a distinct government, by the name of the territory of Orleans. In 1811, the territory of Orleans became a state, by the name of Louisiana. The remaining part of the original province of Louisiana, extending to the Pacific, was erected into a territorial government, and called

Missouri. In 1818-19, application was made to congress, by the people of this territory, to form a state constitution. A bill was accordingly introduced, for the purpose, a provision of which forbade slavery or involuntary servitude. The bill, with this provision, passed the house of representatives, but was rejected in the senate, and, in consequence of this disagreement, the measure, for the time, failed. In the session of 1819-20, the bill was revived; and, after long and animated debates, a compromise was effected, by which slavery was to be tolerated in Missouri, and forbidden in all that part of Louisiana, as ceded by France, lying north of 36° 30′ north latitude, except so much as was included within the limits of the state. In the meantime, the people of Missouri had formed a state constitution. When this constitution was presented to congress, in 1820-21, a provision in it, which required the legislature to pass laws, "to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in the state," was strenuously opposed, on the ground that it violated the rights of such persons of that description, as were citizens of any of the United States. The contest occupied a great part of the session, and it was finally determined, by a small majority, that Missouri should be admitted, upon the fundamental condition, that the contested clause should not be construed to authorise the passage of any laws, excluding citizens of other states from enjoying the privileges to which they are entitled, by the constitution of the United States. It was also provided, that if the legislature of Missouri should, by a solemn public act, previously to the 4th Monday of November, 1821, declare the assent of the state to this fundamental condition, the president should issue his proclamation, declaring the admission complete. On the 24th of June, 1821, the legislature of Missouri assented to the fundamental condition; and on the 10th of August following, the president's proclamation was issued, declaring the admission complete.

During the first session of the seventeenth Congress, a territorial government was established for Florida. At the opening of the second session, the president informed Congress, that, in June, a convention of navigation and commerce, resting essentially on a basis of reciprocal and equal advantage to the two countries, had been concluded between France and the United States;—that the prohibition, which had been imposed on commerce, between the United States and the British colonies, in the West Indies and on this continent, had been removed, and that the ports of those colonies had been opened to the vessels of the United States, by an act of the British parliament.

In a second message, a few days subsequently, the president introduced to the notice of congress the interesting subject of the "multiplied outrages and depredations, recently committed

on our seamen and commerce by pirates, in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico," and recommended the immediate organization of an efficient force to suppress them. A bill was accordingly introduced, authorizing the president to provide such a force, and to despatch it immediately to the protection of our persecuted seamen.

Immediately after the passage of the above bill, commodore Porter was appointed to this service, and, soon after, hoisting his broad pendant on board the Peacock, stretched his way, with a respectable force, to chastise those miscreants, that regard no law, and that feel no mercy.

This session closed on the 3d of March, 1823, in which little business of general importance had been transacted.

At the opening of the first session of the eighteenth Congress in December, the president spoke in high terms of the prosperous state of the finances, and of our amicable relations with foreign nations. In relation to the efforts of the executive, to stop the depredations of pirates on the national commerce, the president stated, that in the West Indies, and the gulf of Mexico, the naval force had been augmented, according to the provisions of Congress. "This armament," said he, "has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies by which our commerce in the neighbourhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of the merchants in a great measure restored."

In allusion to the Greek revolution, the president has the following judicious remarks; and though his half-prophetic wishes are not yet realised, the prospect that they will soon be is certainly a bright one. "A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favour, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might, ere this, have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost, forever, all dominion over them—that Greece will again become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the object of our most ardent wishes.

Speaking of Spain and Portugal, in relation to the attempts of the "Holy Alliance" to extend their political system to South

America. But on this topic, the executive observed, "The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authority of this government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security."

To this language, so temperate, just, and independent, every good citizen responded, amen. His remarks on the state of the country, in the same message, are too valuable to be omitted.

"If we compare the present condition of our union with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation, which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounted to about ten millions; and, what is more ex-

traordinary, it is almost altogether native, for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch, half the territory within our acknowledged limits, was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then, new territory has been acquired, of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean, was of the highest importance to the original states. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new states have been established, almost equal, in number, to those which formed the first bond of our union. This expansion of our population, and accession of new states to our union, have had the happiest effect on all its higher interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources, and added to our strength and respectability, as a power, is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only, that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest, that, by enlarging the basis of our system, and increasing the number of states, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other; and, in consequence, each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted."

The sympathy expressed by the president for the sufferings of the Greeks, called forth a resolution from Mr. Webster, providing for the expenses of an agent to Greece, whenever the executive should deem the appointment proper, and expedient. In offering the resolution, Mr. Webster stated, it was far from being his wish, in any manner, to commit the House, in this or any of the political contests of Europe; but the president of the United States having, in his message to Congress, not only expressed a belief that the Greek nation in its present struggle with its opposers, had the good wishes of the whole civilized world, but also advanced the opinion that the Turkish dominion over that country was lost forever; he thought that if such were the fact, it was important that Congress should act upon the subject. The main object in view was to obtain from the House an expression, responsive to the sentiment of the message, in reference to the sacrifices and sufferings of that heroic people—sacrifices and sufferings, which ought to excite the sympathy of every liberal minded man in Europe, as well as in this country. But whatever might be the case with other nations, *we* certainly, ought not to be restrained from expressing, with freedom, what are our views in relation to the Greek cause, so far as may be done without committing ourselves in the contest. And he really did hope that we should shew to the world, that there is at least, one government which does

entertain a proper view of that barbarous despotism, which, under the eyes of Europe, has been permitted, by a system of the foulest atrocity, to attempt to crush an interesting christian nation.

In most of our large towns and literary institutions, meetings were held in reference to this subject, and resolutions adopted, expressive of sentiments alike honourable to our citizens as members of a free community, and as friends of humanity. They spoke a language worthy of the cause which called them forth, and such as the circumstances of the age require. They are a proof, too, of the existence, and the energy of that principle in the American people, which removes them farther from the supporters of legitimacy, than the breadth of the Atlantic, and is a safer bulwark than its billows.

From that time to the present, large contributions have been made in the United States, and forwarded to the proper authorities of that oppressed and ill-fated country. At present, the armies of Russia threaten the capital of Turkey, and little doubt remains of the emancipation of the Greeks.

The session of congress closed in May, 1824; the most important bills which passed, being one to abolish imprisonment for debt, and the other establishing a tariff of duties on imports. The latter of these, occupied the time of congress during ten weeks, and at last passed by a majority of five only, two members only being absent.

On the 16th of August, the marquis La Fayette, accompanied by his son, and M. L. Vasseur his secretary, landed in New York, where he was welcomed in a manner which evinced a sense of national gratitude, never surpassed.

"From New York, La Fayette passed through the country to Boston, constantly receiving the most enthusiastic congratulations of the people. Not only at every place where he stopped, but as he passed along the road, thousands came to catch a glimpse of him, and bid "Welcome La Fayette." Having visited most of the principal towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, he again returned to New York. During this tour, it is impossible to convey in general terms an adequate idea of the excitement into which the country was thrown. Committees were constantly arriving from distant towns at the places where he stopped, to solicit the honour of receiving him, and to know on what day and at what hour his arrival might be expected. In some instances, gentlemen residing at a distance from his route, directed the news of his approach to be sent them by expresses. Meantime the General was so obliging as to allow himself to be transported with the utmost rapidity from place to place, often travelling most of the night, so as not to disappoint the

anxious expectations of the people. From New York the General went to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, &c. constantly receiving from the people the same cordial welcome, and witnessing the same demonstrations of joy wherever he went.

But the feelings of the nation demanded that something more should be done for general La Fayette, than could be expressed by acclamation alone. This love of liberty had been the means of depriving him of a great proportion of his fortune. When, during our revolution, the country was so exhausted as to be unable to clothe or feed her little army, La Fayette not only gave all his pay to government, but advanced money which never was refunded: so that, in addition to the debt of gratitude, the nation owed him for advancements made during her necessities. It was the exercise of the same leading principle, (the love of liberty) which occasioned the confiscation of his estates in France, when the jacobin faction controlled the kingdom.

Under every consideration, the nation was bound to shew La Fayette, and the world, that in the prosperity of his adopted country, his former services were remembered with too much gratitude to be passed over without some permanent mark of national beneficence.

The president of the United States, therefore, in his message to Congress, at the opening of the last session, recommended in appropriate terms, the consideration of general La Fayette's eminent services to the country, and requested that the legislative body of the nation would devise some means of making him at least a partial remuneration. Agreeably to this recommendation, Congress appointed a committee to deliberate on the subject, and on the 20th of December, " Mr. Hayne, from the committe appointed on so much of the President's message as relates to making provision of the services of general La Fayette, reported the following bill:—

" *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled*, That the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby granted to major general La Fayette, in compensation for his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution; and that for this purpose a stock to that amount be issued in his favour, dated the 4th of July, 1824, bearing an annual interest of six per cent. payable quarter yearly, and redeemable on the 31st of December, 1834.

" Sect. 2. *And be it further enacted*, that one complete Township of land be, and the same is hereby granted to the said major general La Fayette; and that the president of the United States be authorised to cause the said township to be

located on any of the public lands which remain unsold; and that patents be issued to general La Fayette for the same."

On the 21st this bill was made the order of the day in the Senate, and the following debate on it, extracted from the journals of Congress, will tend to shew with how much reason the bill was passed:

Senate, Tuesday, December 21.

"The Senate proceeded, as in committee of the whole to the consideration of the bill making provision for the services and expenditures of general La Fayette.

Mr. Hayne, (of S. C.) in reply to Messrs. Macon and Brown who objected to the bill, remarked, that the observations made by the honourable gentlemen rendered it his duty, though it was done with regret, as he had hoped the bill would pass without opposition, as chairman of the committee, to submit the principle on which the committee had proceeded in presenting the present bill. He trusted that he should be able to satisfy the scruples of the Hon. gentlemen, and that there would be no necessity of recommitting the bill.

With regard to the objections made by his friend on his right, (Mr. Macon,) they affected the making any compensation, under any circumstances whatever, to individuals, either for services rendered or sacrifices made. He understood he had said, it was immaterial whether an individual should have spent his substance in the service of his country—should have put his hand in his purse and paid the expenses of the war, still that for such services no compensation could be made.

He could show that this was the fact—that it was precisely the case with regard to general La Fayette. He had expended his fortune in our service, and he should contend it was right, it was necessary—they were called on by duty to themselves, at least to refund the expenses to which he had been subjected. Mr. Hayne proceeded to say, that he held documents in his hand which it became his duty to submit to the Senate—documents derived from the highest authority. The paper held in his hand contained accounts from the proper officers, showing the expenses of La Fayette, and pointing out the manner in which his estate had been dissipated in the service of liberty. In the year 1777, he had an annual income of 146,000 francs, equal to 28,700 dollars. This had been almost entirely expended in the services which he had rendered to liberty, in this and the other hemisphere. During a period of six years, from the year 1777, to 1783, he had expended in the American service, 700 000 francs, equal to 140,000 dollars. This document, said Mr. Hayne, is derived from the most authentic sources in France, and is come into my hands from a

respectable member of this House, without the knowledge or consent of the General and his friends.

The fact to which he called their attention, was, that during the six years the General had been engaged in the service, he had expended 140,000 dollars of his fortune; he was in a state of prosperity, and in the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune in his own country, when he resolved to come to this. He purchased a ship, raised, equipped, armed and clothed a regiment at his own expense, and when he landed on these coasts, he came freighted with the munitions of war, which he distributed gratuitously to our army. It is on record that he clothed and put shoes on the feet of the naked, suffering, soldiers of America, and that during six years he sacrificed 140,000 dollars. He asked for no compensation—he made out no account—he recieved no pay—he spent his fortune for this country, and not only gave his services, but hazarded his life in its defence, shed his blood in its service, and returned home broken in his fortune. What did Government do? After the war, in 1794, they gave him the full pay of a Major General, to which he was entitled twelve or fourteen years before. If any American citizen had done as much and had brought in an account stating he had expended 140,000 dollars, and make application for compensation, would it not have been granted? Indeed, if we were to make out an account current of the expenses and sacrifices of the General, it would far exceed the sum now proposed. But he never rendered a claim: he would have starved ere he would have done it.

I have other documents, said Mr. Hayne, to which I shall briefly refer. There is one fact which shows how alive he was to every honourable sentiment. He has made sacrifices that can never be repaid. Congress in their gratitude, made him a donation of 11,000 acres of land, which at the value of lands at this time, was not worth more than 11,000 dollars; and by an act in 1804, they authorized him to locate this land on any spot in the United States, that might be vacant: and his agent accordingly located it in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. In 1807, Congress passed an act, confirming the title to the city council of New Orleans of all lands within six hundred yards of its limits.

Part of the land belonging to general La Fayette was included in this grant, and on the fact being communicated to him in France by his agent, accompanied by legal advice of the validity of his title, he replied, that it was not for him to inquire into the circumstances, but that he, receiving bounty from the government of the United States, could only receive it as they chose to give it; and directed his agent to enter a relinquishment of the land in question. This land, according to

the estimate of gentlemen from Louisiana is now worth 500,000 dollars. But there is another circumstance to be stated: having located the land, he made a contract with an Irish Baronet for the sale of a portion of it, and he afterwards made it his business to find him out—he relinquished his own right, and, at his own expense, induced him to relinquish every legal claim that he could have upon the United States. This relinquishment was on file in the land office, and Mr. Hayne submitted the documents to the examination of the Senate.

These claims appear certainly in a very strong, and he might say, irresistible shape before the Senate. His honourable friend, on the right, had said that we treat this gentleman better than we do our native sons, but it appeared that they barely did him justice. Did the gentleman doubt that this government were in the habit of making remuneration for sacrifices and services—he would refer to an act passed in 1790, granting compensation to Frederick William Baron Steuben, for sacrifices and services.

Mr. Hayne proceeded to refer to many instances where the government had not only granted pecuniary assistance, but had granted a whole township of land for sacrifices and services. He was not one of those who were afraid of making precedents—a good precedent can never do evil; and when nations as well as individuals, gave way to the noblest feelings of our nature, they best promoted the glory of the country and the welfare of the people; but the case of La Fayette could form no precedent—it stood alone. Could this country be born again? could it assume a second childhood, and be placed in circumstances similar to those in which it had formerly been? If this were possible, if it could be reduced again to equal distress, be struggling for existence, about to perish, without funds, arms, clothing, or ammunition, and looking around for help—if, under such circumstances, a foreign nobleman should step forth and devote his life and fortune to her service, sacrificing every thing, and shedding his blood in her behalf, and while the scale was depressed, throwing himself into the balance, and deciding its fate—surely, such a man would be entitled to the warmest gratitude of the country.

After some further debate the bill was passed, and a committee appointed to wait on La Fayette with a copy of the act. To an address of the committee on the occasion of presenting the act, the Marquis returned the following answer.

Gentlemen of the Committee of both Houses of Congress:

The immense and unexpected gift, which, in addition to former and considerable bounties, it has pleased Congress to confer upon me, calls for the warmest acknowledgments of an old

American Soldier, an adopted son of the United States, two titles dearer to my heart than all the treasures in the world.

However proud I am of every sort of obligation received from the people of the United States, and their Representatives in Congress, the large extent of this benefaction might have created in my mind feelings of hesitation, not inconsistent, I hope, with those of the most grateful reverence. But the so very kind resolutions of both Houses, delivered by you, gentlemen, in terms of equal kindness, precludes all other sentiments except those of lively and profound gratitude, of which, in respectfully accepting the munificent favour, I have the honour to beg you will be the organs.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to join a tender of my affectionate personal thanks to the expression of the highest respect, with which I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

LA FAYETTE.

At Washington, La Fayette was received by both houses of Congress with suitable honours. Thence passing to the South, he visited most of the cities in that section of the country.

After visiting various places, in the autumn of 1825, the marquis took passage in the frigate Brandywine, for France, where he arrived in safety, and where he still lives, in the enjoyment of a contented mind, and a clear conscience; the friend of man, and the hero of freedom.

The second session of the eighteenth Congress commenced in December, on which occasion we find in the presidential message: "our relations with foreign powers are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled. Our revenue, under the mild system of impost and tonnage, continues to be adequate to all the purposes of government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing, in the degree authorized by existing appropriations, to maturity, and due progress is made in the augmentation of the navy to the limit prescribed by law."

He also stated, that the convention of navigation and commerce concluded between the United States and France in 1822 still continued;—that our commercial intercourse with the British dominions in Europe and the East Indies, resting on the basis of reciprocity, which had been arranged by a convention, in 1815, was confirmed and continued for ten years, by treaty in 1818; but that the trade with the British colonies in the West Indies, had not as yet been settled to the satisfaction of the executive; that our commerce with Sweden had been placed on a footing of perfect reciprocity, by treaty, and with Russia, the Netherlands, Prussia, and the free Hanseatic cities, the dukedom of Oldenburg and Sardinia, by internal re-

gulations on each side, founded on mutual agreement between the respective governments; and that the great and extraordinary changes which had happened in Spain and Portugal, within the last two years, had not seriously affected the friendly relations subsisting between them and the United States; although they had presented obstacles to the adjustment of the particular subjects of discussion which have arisen with each. With the remaining powers of Europe, with those on the coast of Barbary, and with all the new South American States, our relations were moreover stated to be of a friendly character. The country has ministers plenipotentiary residing with the republics of Colombia and Caili, and have received ministers of the same rank, from Colombia, Guatimala, Buenos Ayres and Mexico, and a charge d'affaires from the independent government of Brazil.

From the view which he then took of our situation, it was manifest that we were in a highly prosperous situation, and that our duty and happiness would consist in handing these blessings down to posterity unimpaired.

This session closed constitutionally on the third of March, 1825. The most interesting subjects which occupied its attention during the session, were the occupation of the Oregon on the Northwest coast, and the suppression of piracy. The bill respecting the former, however, was lost in the senate; being indefinitely laid on the table; while that respecting piracy passed; which, however, does little more than to authorize the building of ten additional ships of war. The bill authorizing the occupation of the Oregon, was passed by the House of Representatives, but had previously been so amended as to provide only for a military occupation of the mouth of the river. This amendment was adopted, for the purpose of avoiding a violation of the treaty with Great Britain, which provides that the boundary line on that frontier, shall remain unsettled ten years.

The presidency of Mr. Monroe closed with the session, during which the country enjoyed a state of peace and uniform prosperity. He retired from office, enjoying the respect, affection, and gratitude, of all who are able duly to appreciate the blessings of having a wise ruler.

The choice of president for the succeeding term of four years, not being settled by the electoral vote, devolved on the House of Representatives. John Quincy Adams was chosen, and took the oath of office on the fourth of March, and John C. Calhoun was chosen vice president by the electors.

Hardly had Mr. Monroe entered on his second term of office, when certain public journals became clamorous in favour of various candidates for the succession to that important post. Nor has the clamour yet ceased (September, 1828,) on the same

topic, in regard to the next presidency, which will be vacated on the third of March next. The only candidates for the chair, are the present incumbent, and general Jackson. How this contest, which has been prosecuted with unexampled industry, not to say virulence, will terminate, is still a problem with the ablest calculators As to *probability*, we think it inclines in favour of the former.

The address of Mr. Adams, on his induction into office, was such as might rationally be expected. Speaking of our political creed, he says, it "is, without a dissenting voice that can be heard, that the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end of all legitimate government upon earth—That the best security for the beneficence, and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections.—That the general government of the Union, and the separate governments of these states, are all sovereignties of limited powers; fellow servants of the same masters, uncontrolled within their respective spheres, uncontrollable by encroachments upon each other. That the firmest security of peace, is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war. That a rigorous economy, and accountability of public expenditures, should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation. That the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power. That the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate. That the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation, union, are articles of faith upon which we are all agreed."

The following paragraphs we copy en ire, as too valuable to be omitted, even in a condensed history.

"In the compass of thirty years, since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations, to foreign affairs, to the revenue and expenditures, and to the military force of the union, by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciary has expounded the constitution and the laws; settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee since the first formation of our union has just elapsed; that of the declaration of our independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution. Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended

from sea to sea. New states have been admitted to the union, in number nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen—the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have marched hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe; and at a cost, little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year.

Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say that it is still the condition of men upon earth. From evil, physical, moral, and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of Heaven, through disease; often by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the extremities of war; and, lastly, by dissentions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have more than once appeared to threaten the dissolution of the union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various, founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations; upon jealousies of partial and sectional interests, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions, which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

On the 31st of May, a treaty of peece, amity, navigation, and commerce, between the United States and Colombia, was ratified by the president. The first article establishes a firm and inviolable peace, and perpetual friendship. By the second, no partiality was to be shown to any other nation to which each of the contracting parties had not an equal right. By the sixth article, merchant vessels and ships of war, were to be protected in the bays and harbours of both parties, either in stress of weather, or to shield them from the pursuit of pirates or other enemies. The seventh grants a return of ships and merchandise which may be taken in their respective jurisdictions. By the tenth, both the contracting parties engage, formally, to give

their special protection to the persons and property of the other, and to leave open and free to them the tribunals of justice for their judicial recourse, on the same terms as are usual with native citizens of either party. By the eleventh, liberty of conscience is mutually guaranteed. By the fourteenth, liberty of commerce and navigation, except contraband of war, in times which would endanger the safety of either contracting party, is freely granted. The treaty was to remain in force twelve years after the exchange of ratifications.

The 7th of September, was the day appointed for the departure of the nation's guest, general La Fayette, from Washington. On Mr. Adams devolved the task of bidding him farewell, in the name of the nation to whom he had been a constant friend, and a noble benefactor. How well and with what dignity and feeling, he executed this *task*, we need not attempt to discribe, and we regret that our plan does not permit us to copy the whole address. We can copy but a brief sketch, which will be found in the following selected paragraphs.

When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

Through that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom, and with whom you had fought the battles of liberty, have been living in full possession of its fruits; one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and, we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the waves, with the exception of a few to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places; and their children's children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished

by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

You are now about to return to the country of your birth, of your ancestors, of your posterity. The executive government of the Union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings and of our independence.

The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

Go, then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valour; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the twelfth Louis, and the fourth Henry; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, of Turenne and Catinat, of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of La Fayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter fame; for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of La Fayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crsis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services, which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

To this the veteran general replied; and, after mentioning his obligations to the American government and people, for their munificence and kind reception, he added, "Yet, gratifications still higher, awaited me; in the wonders of creation

and improvement that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private, in a practice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognise a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and prejudiced minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of that union between the states, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world, an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every where more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of their states, and the federal government. Accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat.

As the last sentence was pronounced, the general advanced, and, while the tears poured over his venerable cheek, again took the president in his arms—he retired a few paces, but, overcome by his feelings, again returned, and uttering, in broken accents, " God bless you !" fell once more on the neck of Mr. Adams. It was a scene, at once, solemn and moving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many, who witnessed it, bore testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the general stretched out his hands, and was, in a moment, surrounded by the greeting, of the whole assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid, when aid was so precious, and which grasped, with firm and undeviating hold, the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance.

The general was attended to the Potomac, by a large military escort, and thousands of citizens. The *Mount Vernon* steam boat, waited to convey him on board the Brandywine. When the mansion, the groves, and the tomb of Mount Vernon opened to view. The progress of the little fleet was arrested, it remained motionless on the broad bosom of Potomac's wave—that the last of the generals might pay his pious homage and filial duty to the tomb of the paternal chief.

Lafayette arose—the wonders which he had performed for a man of his age, in successfully accomplishing labors enough to have tested his meridian vigor, whose animation rather resembles the spring than the winter of life, now seemed unequal to the task he was about to perform: To take a last look at the grave of Washington! He advanced to the effort—a silence the most impressive reigned around, till the strains of sweet and plaintive music completed the grandeur and sacred solemnity of the scene. All hearts beat in unison with the throbbings of the veteran's bosom as he looked, and that for the last time, on the sepulchre which contains the ashes of the first of men. He spoke not, but appeared absorbed in the mighty recollections which the place and the occasion inspired. Yet a voice seemed borne on the air. It appeared to say to the manes of the illustrious dead, "WASHINGTON, thou friend and father of my youth, under whose heroic banner I first gained renown in the fields of fame, when combatting for the rights and liberties of man—in whose bosom I was cherished in the earliest, the happiest days of life—whose affections descended with me from the palace to the dungeon—whose arms were opened to receive my child, when forlorn and a wanderer from his native land, he sought in thee a friend and found a father—most truly great and glorious of men, while such a humble mound alone contains thy ashes, thy monument is based on an hemisphere, and thy fame will cenotaph thy memory in ages yet unborn. Accept the last duty which filial homage pays to the tomb of Washington in the tear of La Fayette."

We make no apology for the insertion of these interesting particulars. But we regret, sincerely, that the whole of the address and reply cannot find room, and if our readers have *feeling*, they will regret it too.

The first session of the nineteenth congress opened at Washington in December, 1825. The message of the executive, after adverting to the state of peace which had for several years blessed the world says—During the same period, our intercourse with all those nations has been pacific and friendly—it so continues. Since the close of your last session, no material variation has occurred in our relations with any one of them. In the commercial and navigation system of Great Britain, important changes of municipal regulation have recently been sanctioned by acts of parliament, the effect of which, upon the interests of other nations, and particularly upon ours, has not yet been fully developed. In the recent renewal of the diplomatic missions on both sides, between the two governments, assurances have been given, and received, of the continuance and increase of that mutual confidence and cordiality by which the adjustment of many points of difference had already

been effected, and which affords the surest pledge for the ultimate satisfactory adjustment of those which still remain open, or may hereafter arise.

He then notices the commission for settling the seventh article of the treaty of Ghent, and that respecting the indemnity for slaves taken off by the British during the late war, as in a train of amicable adjustment. He also adverts to the importance of establishing a national system of bankruptcy, and of improvements in the militia system. In noticing the pecuniary concerns of the nation, the message says—Among the unequivocal indications of our national prosperity, is the flourishing state of our finances. The revenues of the present year, from all their principal sources, will exceed the anticipations of the last. The balance in the treasury, on the 1st of January last, was a little short of two millions of dollars, exclusive of two millions and a half, being the moiety of the loan of five millions, authorized by the act of 26th May, 1824. The receipts into the treasury, from the first of January, to the thirtieth of September, exclusive of the other moiety of the same loan, are estimated at sixteen millions, five hundred thousand dollars; and it is expected that those of the current quarter will exceed five millions of dollars; forming an aggregate of receipts of nearly twenty-two millions, indepedent of the loan. The expenditures of the year will not exceed that sum more than two millions. By those expenditures, nearly eight millions of the principal of the public debt have been discharged. More than a million and a half has been devoted to the debt of gratitude to the warriors of the revolution: a nearly equal sum to the construction of fortifications, and the acquisition of ordnance, and other permanent preparatives of national defence: half a million to the gradual increase of the navy: an equal sum for purchases of territory from the Indians, and payment of annuities to them: and upwards of a million for objects of internal improvement, authorized by special acts of the last congress. If we add to these, four millions of dollars for payment of interest upon the public debt, there remains a sum of about seven millions which have defrayed the whole expense of the administration of government, in its legislative. executive and judiciary departments, including the support of the military and naval establishments, and all the occasional contingencies of a government co-extensive with the union.

The Amount of duties secured on merchandise imported, from the commencement of the year, is about twenty-five millions and a half; and that which will accrue, during the current quarter, is estimated at five millions and a half: from these thirty-one millions, deducting the drawbacks, estimated at less than seven millions, a sum exceeding twenty four mil-

lions will constitute the revenue of the year; and will exceed the whole expenditures of the year. The entire amount of public debt, remaining due on the first of January next, will be short of eighty-one millions of dollars.

Speaking of our situation as regards the Aborigines, he thus speaks: Our relations with the numerous tribes of aboriginal natives of this country, scattered over its extensive surface, and so dependent even for their existence, upon our power, have been, during the present year, highly interesting. An act of congress, of 25th May, 1824, made an appropriation to defray the expenses of making treaties of trade and friendship with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi. An act of 3d March, 1825, authorized treaties to be made with the Indians for their consent to the making of a road from the frontier of Missouri to that of New Mexico. And, another act of the same date, provided for defraying the expenses of holding treaties with the Sioux, Chippewas, Menomences, Sauks, Foxes, &c. for the purpose of establishing boundaries and promoting peace between said tribes. The first and the last objects of these acts have been accomplished; and the second is yet in a process of execution. The treaties, which, since the last session of congress have been concluded with the several tribes, will be laid before the senate for their consideration, conformably to the constitution. They comprise large and valuable acquisitions of territory: and they secure an adjustment of boundaries, and give pledges of permanent peace between several tribes which had been long waging bloody wars against each other.

On the 12th of February last, a treaty was signed at the Indian Springs, between commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, and certain chiefs and individuals of the Creek nation of Indians, which was received at the seat of government only a few days before the close of the last session of congress, and of the late administration. The advice and consent of the senate was given to it, on the 3d of March, too late for it to receive the ratification of the then president of the United States; it was ratified on the 7th of March, under the unsuspecting impression that it had been negotiated in good faith, and in the confidence inspired by the recommendation of the senate. The subsequent transactions in relation to this treaty, will form the subject of a separate message.

But our circumscribed limits prevent us from touching, with any thing like justice, on this able state paper. We can only say, that nothing seems to have escaped his capacious mind, of very general and national importance.

By the report of the Treasurer this session, it appears he had a balance of more than five millions in his hands.

During this session, a question was agitated, relating to the holding of any office under the government of the United States, by a senator or representative to congress. Mr. Benton from the selected committee, reported,—

That, having had recourse to the history of the times, in which the constitution was formed, the committee find that the proposition now referred to them, had engaged the deliberations of the federal convention which framed the constitution, and of several of the state conventions which ratified it.

In an early stage of the session of the federal convention, it was resolved, as follows :

" Art 6, sec. 9. The members of each house, (of congress) shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any office under the authority of the United States, during the time for which they shall respectively be elected ; and the members of the senate shall be inelligible to, and incapable of, holding any such office for one year afterwards." (*Journal of the federal convention, page* 219.)

It further appears from the journal, that this clause in the first draft of the constitution, was adopted with great unanimity, and that afterwards, in the concluding days of the session, it was altered, and its intention defeated, by a majority of a single vote, in the absence of one of the states by which it had been supported.

Following the constitution into the state conventions which ratified it, the committee find, that, by the New York convention, it was recommended, as follows :

" That no senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any office under the authority of the U. States."

By the Virginia convention, as follows :

" That the members of the senate and house of representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of, holding any civil office under the authority of the U. States, during the term for which they shall respectively be elected."

By the North Carolina convention, the same amendment was recommended, in the same words.

In the first session of the first congress, which was held under the constitution, a member of the house of representatives submitted a similar proposition of amendment ; and, in the third session of the eleventh congress, James Madison being president, a like proposition was again submitted, and being referred to a committee of the house, was reported by them in the following words :

" No senator or representative shall be appointed to any civil office, place or emolument, under the authority of the United States, until the expiration of the presidential term in which such person shall have served as a senator or representative."

Upon the question to adopt this resolution, the vote stood 71 yeas, 40 nays, wanting but three votes of the constitutional number for the referring it to the decision of the states.

Having thus. shown by a reference to the venerable evidence of our early history, that the principle of the amendment now under consideration, has had the support and approbation of the first friends of the constitution, the committee will now declare their own opinion in favor of its correctness, and exprses its belief that the ruling principle in the organization of the federal government demands its adoption.

That ruling principle requires that the three great branches of the federal government, the executive, legislative and judiciary, should be separate and distinct from each other, not only in contemplation of law, but in point of fact; and, for this end, that each should not only have its independent organization, but that the individuals administering each. should be wholly free from the control and influence of the individuals who administered the others.

To secure this independence on the part of the president, and to prevent the executive from starving him into a compliance with their will, by withholding his necessary support, or seducing him into an acquiesence in their views, by tempting his avarice with an augmented salary, (*Fed. No.* 77,) it is provided in the constitution that he shall receive a *fixed* compensation for his services, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he was elected.

To secure the independence of the legislative department, and to prevent the executive from influencing its deliberations, by retaining a set of dependants in the senate and house of representatives, always ready, like the placemen in the British parliament, to support the measures of administration, it was provided, in the same constitution, that persons holding offices under the authority of the United States, should be wholly excluded from the floor of congress.

The committee believe that this provision for the independence of the senate and house of representatives, though wise and proper as far as it goes, does not go far enough to accomplish the object it had in view. They admit that the presence of office holders in the legislative department would be the bane of honest and independent legislation; and they believe that the presence of office-hunters would be equally fatal. The danger to be apprehended from each, is, in effect, the same. The office holder would support the measures of administration for the purpose of saving the office which he had in possession; the office hunter would support the same measures, for the purpose of securing the office which he had in expectation. By

either party, the interest of the country would be sacrificed to the views of the executive; and the appropriate means for preventing this mischief, was first to exclude office holders from seats in congress, and this the constitution has done; and, secondly, to prevent senators and representatives from taking appointments from the president under whose administration they had served, and this it has omitted to do. The omission was too material to escape the observation of those who were not blind to the defects of the constitution; and their animadversions were too loud and vehement to pass unnoticed by the great advocates for the ratification of that instrument. The authors of the Federalist, in their *No.* 55, felt it to be their duty to meet the objection which grew out of this omission. But even these great men, with their superior abilities, and ardent zeal in the best of causes, could attempt no more than to diminish the quantum of a danger which could not be denied to exist, and to cover, with a brilliant declamation, a part of their beloved constitution which could not be defended. They said:

"Sometimes we are told, that this fund of corruption,(executive appointments,) is to be exhausted by the president in subduing the virtue of the senate. Now, the fidelity of the other house is to be the victim. The improbability of such a mercenary and perfidious combination of the several members of the government, standing on as different foundations as its republican principles will well admit, and at the same time accountable to the society over which they are placed, ought alone to quiet this apprehension. But, fortunately, the constitution has provided a still further safeguard. The members of the congress are rendered ineligible to any civil offices that may be created, or of which the emoluments may be increased, during the term of their election. No offices, therefore, can be dealt out to the existing members but such as may become vacant by ordinary casualties; and to suppose that these would be sufficient to purchase the guardians of the people, selected by the people themselves, is to renounce every rule by which events ought to be calculated, and to substitute an indiscriminate and unbounded jealousy, with which all reasoning must be vain."

They doubted the validity of these arguments, and concluded the report as follows: Considering all which, the committee have come to the unanimous resolution to submit to the senate a proposition of amendment to the constitution of the United States, embracing the principle of this report.

Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, two thirds of both houses concurring, That the following amendment to the constitution of the United States be proposed to the legislatures of the several states; which, when ratified by three-fourths of

said legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said constitution :

No senator or representative shall be appointed to any civil office, place or emolument, under the authority of the United States, until the expiration of the presidential term in which such person shall have served as a senator or a representative.

During the session and on the fourth of July, just half a century from the time when Adams and Jefferson, signed the Declaration of Indepenence, they both departed this life, within a few hours of each other. They had both been presidents of the United States, and both vice presidents. This is certainly an extraordinary coincidence, and worthy to be perpetuated in the archives of the nation. Nor is it a little remarkable, that on this day, after its observance by the national legislatute, certain members of congress addressed the legislature on the pecuniary embarrassments of Mr. Jefferson with a view to his relief. The following extracts we believe will be acceptable.

If I am asked why Jefferson is singled out amid his compatriots—my answer is, he stands pre-eminent alike for his services and his misfortunes. God forbid that I should diminish the just claims of the illustrious band, who, guided by the polarity of their superior genius, and by a courage that was above circumstances, to whom the blessing of Providence became a pillar of light—by which we were conducted through the wilderness of the land of promise. But as one star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the lot of man. It was his good fortune to occupy the front rank among the illustrious. He is one of three survivors, signers of the Declaration of Independence. His associates are comfortable, and need no aid.

If it be inquired how it has happened that he has become impoverished? I answer, the delicacy of the subject forbids the inquiry. I may ask, however, what public institution is there in the United States that has not profited of his bounty? What son or daughter of affliction, who has asked for aid, that has not received his charity? What nation, tongue or kindred, that has not shared his hospitality? His fame had gone abroad in the earth. He as justly esteemed a distinguished benefactor of mankind. He was resorted to as an oracle, that they might hear with their own ears, from his own lips, the sublime and the eternal truths of religious liberty. His doors were open to all. His responses were withheld from none. The sequel was inevitable—a loss of his property. He disinterestedly sacrificed his independence on the altar of all the virtues. The character of his country was ennobled by the sacrifice. It will be still further ennobled by its being replaced by the generosity of his countrymen.

The second session of the nineteenth congress commenced on the fourth day of December, 1826. The President's message, after noticing the unfinished and untouched subjects of his former message, notices the decease of Alexander, of Russia, our commerce with France, and a ratified treaty with Denmark, says:—"With Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and in general all the European Powers, between whom and the United States relations of friendly intercourse have existed, their condition has not materially varied since the last session of congress. I regret not to be able to say the same of our commercial intercourse with the colonial possessions of Great Britian, in America. Negotiations of the highest importance to our common interests have been for several years in discussion between the two governments, and on the part of the United States have been invariably pursued in the spirit of candor and conciliation. Interests of great magnitude and delicacy had been adjusted by the conventions of 1815 and 1818, while that of 1822, mediated by the late emperor Alexander, had promised a satisfactory compromise of claims which the government of the United States, in justice to the rights of a numerous class of their citizens, was bound to sustain. But, with regard to the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in America, it has been hitherto found impracticable to bring the parties to an understanding satisfactory to both. The relative geographical position, and the respective products of nature cultivated by human industry, had constituted the elements of a commercial intercourse between the United States and British America, insular and continental, important to the inhabitants of both countries. But it had been interdicted by Great Britian, upon a principle heretofore practised by the colonizing nations of Europe, of holding the trade of their colonies, each in exclusive monopoly to herself. After the termination of the late war, this interdiction had been revived, and the British government declined including this portion of our intercourse with her possessions in the negotiation of the convention of 1815. The trade was then carried on exclusively in British vessels, till the act of congress concerning navigation, of 1818, and the supplemental act of 1820 met the interdict by a corresponding measure on the part of the United States. These measures, not of retaliation, but necessary self-defence, were soon succeeded by an act of parliament, opening certain colonial ports to the vessels of the United States, coming directly from them, and to the importation from them of certain articles of our produce, burdened with heavy duties, and excluding some of the most valuable articles of our exports. The United States opened their ports to British vessels from the colonies, upon terms as exactly corresponding with those of the act of parliament, as in the relative position of the parties, could be

made. And a negotiation was commenced by mutual consent, with the hope, on our part, that a reciprocal spirit of accommodation and a common sentiment of the importance of the trade to the interests of the inhabitants of the two countries, between whom it must be carried on, would ultimately bring the parties to a compromise, with which both might be satisfied. With this view, the government of the United States had determined to sacrifice something of that entire reciprocity which in all commercial arrangements with foreign powers they are entitled to demand, and to acquiesce in some inequalities disadvantageous to ourselves, rather than to forego the benefit of a final and permanent adjustment of this interest, to the satisfaction of Great Britain herself. The negotiation, repeatedly suspended by accidental circumstances, was, however, by mutual agreement and express assent, considered as pending, and to be speedily resumed. In the mean time, another act of parliament, so doubtful and ambiguous in its import as to have been misunderstood by the officers in the colonies who were to carry it into execution, opens again certain colonial ports, upon new conditions and terms, with a threat to close them against any nation which may not accept those terms, as prescribed by the British government. This act passed in July, 1825, not communicated to the government of the United States, not understood by the British officers of the customs in the colonies where it was to be enforced, was nevertheless submitted to the consideration of congress, at their last session. With the knowledge that a negotiation upon the subject had long been in progress, and pledges given of its resumption at an early day, it was deemed expedient to await the result of that negociation, rather than to subscribe implicitly to terms, the import of which was not clear, and which the British authorities themselves, in this hemisphere, were not prepared to explain.

He closes the subject of British difficulties, by trusting that the misunderstanding noticed would not have an impropitious effect on other subjects connected with our mutual relations.

He then alludes to the Panama mission, and presses the opinion that we ought to be there represented.

Of our fiscal concerns, and the contemplated reduction of the public debt, he speaks in favourable terms. Of the military and naval departments he speaks in a favourable manner, and extols the management of the post office department.

The conclusion is as follows :—

In closing this communication, I trust it will not be deemed inappropriate to the occasion and purposes upon which we are here assembled, to indulge a momentary retrospect, combining, in a single glance, the period of our origin as a national confederation with that of our present existence, at the precise in-

terval of half a century from each other. Since your last meeting at this place, the fiftieth anniversary of the day when our independence was declared, has been celebrated throughou our land, and on that day, when every heart was bounding with joy and every voice was tuned to gratulation, amid the blessings of freedom and independence, which the sires of a former age had handed down to their children, two of the principal actors in that solemn scene, the hand that penned the ever-memorable declaration, and the voice that sustained it in debate, were, by the summons, at the distance of seven hundred miles from each other, called before the Judge of all, to account for their deeds done upon earth. They departed, cheered by the benedictions of their country, to whom they left the inheritance of their fame, and the memory of their bright example. If we turn our thoughts to the condition of their country, in the contrast of the first and last day of that century, how resplendent and sublime is the transition from gloom to glory! Then glancing through the same lapse of time, in the condition of the individuals, we see the first day marked with the fulness and vigor of youth in the pledge of their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the cause of freedom and of mankind. And on the last, extended on the bed of death with but sense and sensibility left to breathe a last aspiration to Heaven of blessing upon their country; may we not humbly hope that to them too, it was a pledge of transition from gloom to glory; and that while their mortal vestments were sinking into the clod of the valley, their emancipated spirits were ascending to the bosom of their God!

During the session, a number of interesting reports were made from the different departments and a number of valuable documests presented. The famous treaty with M'Intosh and other Creek chiefs was put under examination and condemned.

This treaty it may be recollected, was made by M'Intosh, in a clandestine manner, for which he subsequently suffered death. Circumstances, and clear testimony were adduced to show that this was the state of the treaty, and it was no longer considered obligatory on either the United States, or the Creek nation. To show the spirit of hostility manifested by the executive of Georgia, nothing more is necessary, than to copy the two following orders. It is only necessary to state, that Georgia had long coveted the Creek lands, and by collusion with some chiefs, determined to possess them even at the point of the bayonet, and the destruction of the aborigines. We rejoice that the general government stopped the torrent of usurpation, and exhibited the features of firmness, justice, and generosity.

executive department, Geo. Milledgeville, 17th Feb. 1827.

Ordered, That the attorney and solicitors general of this state, in every instance of complaint made of the arrest of any surveyor, engaged in the survey of the late acquired territory, by any civil process, under the authority of the government of the United States, do take all necessary and legal measures to effect the liberation of the person so arrested, and to bring to justice either by indictment or otherwise, the officers or parties concerned in such an arrest, as offenders against the laws and violaters of the peace and personal security of the public officers and citizens of this state. That they give professional advice and assistance in their defence against any prosecution or action which may be instituted against them as officers in the service of the state, and that they promptly make known to this department their acts and doings in the premises. It is moreover enjoined on the civil magistrates of this state, having competent jurisdiction of the same, to be acting and assisting in enquiring into the cause of every such arrest or detention as aforesaid, that the person may be discharged forthwith, if illegally or unjustly detained, and in affording such redress to the aggrieved or injured party as by law he may be entitled to receive.

By the governor, E. H. PIERCE, Sec.

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Head quarters, Milledgeville, 17th Feb. 1827.

ORDERS.

The major generals commanding the 6th and 7th divisions will immediately issue orders to hold in readiness the several regiments and battalions within their respective commands to repel any hostile invasion of the territory of this state. Depots of arms and ammunition central to each division will be established in due time.

By the commander-in-chief,

JOHN W. A. SANFORD, *Aid-de-camp.*

This congress closed its session on the third of March, and the twentieth congress opened its sittings on the third of December, 1827.

On the fourth, the message of the president was received and read in both houses. After giving a general, but concise and elevating view of our situation as a people, he thus speaks of our foreign concerns:—"Our relations of friendship with the other nations of the earth, political and commercial, have been preserved unimpaired: and the opportunities to improve them have been cultivated with anxious and unremitting attention. A negotiation upon subjects of high and delicate interest, with he government of Great Britain, has terminated in the adjust-

ment of some of the questions at issue upon satisfactory terms, and the postponement of others for future discussion and agreement. The purposes of the convention concluded at St. Petersburg, on the 12th day of July, 1822, under the mediation of the late emperor Alexander, have been carried into effect by a subsequent convention, concluded at London on the 13th of November, 1826, the ratifications of which were exchanged at that place on the 6th day of February last. A copy of the proclamation issued on the nineteenth day of March last, publishing this convention, is herewith communicated to congress. The sum of twelve hundred and four thousand nine hundred and sixty dollars, therein stipulated to be paid to the claimants of indemnity under the first article of the treaty of Ghent has been duly received, and the commission instituted, conformably to the act of congress of the second of March last, for the distribution of the indemnity to the persons entitled to receive it, are now in session, and approaching the consummation of their labors. This final disposal of one of the most painful topics of collision between the United States and Great Britain, not only affords an occasion of gratulation to ourselves, but has had the happiest effect in promoting a friendly disposition, and in softening asperities upon other objects of discussion. Nor ought it to pass without the tribute of a frank and cordial acknowledgment of the magnanimity with which an honorable nation, by the reparation of their own wrongs, achieves a triumph more glorious than any field of blood can ever bestow.

"The conventions of 3d July, 1815, and of 20th October, 1818, will expire, by their own limitation, on the 20th October, 1828. These have regulated the direct commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain, upon terms of the most perfect reciprocity; and they effected a temporary compromise of the respective rights and claims to territory westward of the Rocky mountains. These arrangements have been continued for an indefinite period of time, after the expiration of the above mentioned conventions; leaving each party the liberty of terminating them, by giving twelve months notice to the other. The radical principle of all commercial intercourse between independent nations, is the mutual interest of both parties. It is the vital spirit of trade itself; nor can it be reconciled to the nature of man, or to the primary laws of human society, that any traffic should long be willingly pursued, of which all the advantages are on one side, and all the burdens on the other. Treaties of commerce have been found, by experience, to be among the most effective instruments for promoting peace and harmony between nations whose interests, exclusively considered on either side are brought into frequent collisions by competition. In framing such treaties, it is the duty of each party

not simply to urge with unyielding pertinacity that which suits its own interest, but to concede liberally to that which is adapted to the interest of the other. To accomplish this, little more is generally required than a simple observance of the rule of reciprocity; and were it possible for the statesmen of one nation, by stratagem and management, to obtain from the weakness or ignorance of another, an over-reaching treaty, such a compact would prove an incentive to war rather than a bond of peace. Our conventions with Great Britain are founded upon the principles of reciprocity. The commercial intercourse between the two countries is greater in magnitude and amount than between any two other nations on the globe. It is, for all purposes of benfit or advantage to both, as precious, and, in all probability, far more extensive, than if the parties were still constituent parts of one and the same nation. Treaties between such states, regulating the intercourse of peace between them, and adjusting interests of such transcendent importance to both, which have been found, in a long experience of years, mutually advantageous, should not be lightly cancelled or discontinued. Two conventions, for continuing in force those above mentioned, have been concluded between the plenipotentiaries of the two governments, on the 6th of August last, and will be forthwith laid before the senate for the exercise of their constitutional authority concerning them."

He then alludes to the execution of the treaties of 1782, and '83, respecting the boundary line of the Union, showing that difficulties had arisen respecting their adjustment. Commissioners had been appointed by both parties, to settle these questions, but the object had not been fully accomplished, and a convention of September 1826, was intended for reference to the senate. He then notices a communication from the governor of Maine, touching the difficulties respecting territorial jurisdiction, which had occurred in the vicinity of that state, and concludes the subject by stating that he had taken measures to obtain the best information of facts in the case, which should be communicated when received. He also reverts to the difficulties and embarrassments arising from the Britishcolonial regulations, which he states as not yet approximating to a friendly understanding.

In speaking of France, he states that our commerce with that people is increasing, while it is a source of regret, that our demands on that government for spoliations, remain unsettled. With the Kingdom of Sweden, a new treaty had been concluded, and a minister plenipotentiary from the Hanseatic towns received. With Russia we are at peace, and the good understanding which subsisted with Alexander, has not been

interrupted by the succession of his brother Nicholas, to the empire.

Of the Creeks, he speaks most feelingly, and notices the letter of thanks from the president of that country, which was to be translated, and placed before congress.

Alluding to our southern neighbours, he says: "In the American hemisphere, the cause of freedom and independence has continued to prevail; and if signalized by none of those splendid triumphs which had crowned with glory some of the preceding years, it has only been from the banishment of all external force against which the struggle had been maintained. The shout of victory has been superseded by the expulsion of the enemy over whom it could have been achieved. Our friendly wishes and cordial good will, which have constantly followed the southern nations of America in all the vicissitudes of their war of independence, are succeeded by a solicitude, equally ardent and cordial, that by the wisdom and purity of their institutions, they may secure to themselves the choicest blessings of social order, and the best rewards of virtuous liberty."

The message then alludes to our remaining difficulties with Brazil, which he had taken measures to settle, and finally returns to the more grateful subjects of our internal concerns, thus:

"Turning from the momentous concerns of our union, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to those of the deepest interest in the administration of our internal affairs, we find the revenues of the present year corresponding as nearly as might be expected to the anticipations of the last, and presenting an aspect still more favourable in the promise of the next. The balance in the treasury, on the first of January last, was six millions three hundred and fifty-eight thousand six hundred and eighty six-dollars and eighteen cents. The receipts from that day to the 30th of September last, as near as the returns of them yet received can show, amount to sixteen millions eight hundred and eighty-six thousand five hundred and eighty-one dollars and thirty two cents. The receipts of the present quarter, estimated at four millions five hundred and fifteen thousand, added to the above, form an aggregate of twenty-one millions four hundred thousand dollars of receipts. The expenditures of the year may perhaps amount to twenty-two millions three hundred thousand dollars, presenting a small excess over the receipts. But, of these twenty-two millions, upwards of six have been applied to the discharge of the principal of the public debt; the whole amount of which, approaching seventy-four millions on the first of January last, will, on the first day of next year, fall short of sixty-seven millions and a half. The balance in the treasury, on the first of January next, it is expected will

exceed five millions four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, a sum exceeding that of the first of January, 1825, though falling short of that exhibited on the first of January last.

"It was foreseen that the revenue of the present year would not equal that of the last, which had itself been less than that of the next preceding year. But the hope has been realized which was entertained, that these deficiences, would in nowise interrupt the steady operation of the discharge of the public debt by the annual ten millions devoted to that object by the act of 3d March, 1817.

"The amount of duties secured on merchandise imported from the commencement of the year until the 30th of September last, is twenty-one millions two hundred and twenty-six thousand, and the probable amount of that which will be secured during the remainder of the year, is five millions seven hundred and seventy four thousand dollars; forming a sum total of twenty seven millions. With the allowances for drawbacks and contingent deficiences which may occur, though not specifically foreseen, we may safely estimate the receipts of the ensuing year at twenty-two millions three hundred thousand dollars; a revenue for the next, equal to the expenditure of the present year.

"The deep solicitude felt by our citizens of all classes throughout the union for the total discharge of the public debt, will apologize for the earnestness with which I deem it my duty to urge this topic upon the consideration of congress—of recommending to them again the observance of the strictest economy in the application of the public funds. The depression upon the receipts of the revenue which had commenced with the year 1826, continued with increased severity during the two first quarters of the present year. The returning tide began to flow with the third quarter, and, so far as we can judge from experience, may be expected to continue through the course of the ensuing year. In the mean time, an alleviation from the burden of the public debt will, in the three years, have been effected, to the amount of nearly sixteen millions, and the charge of annual interest will have been reduced upwards of one million. But among the maxims of political economy which the stewards of the public moneys should never suffer without urgent necessity to be transcended, is that of keeping the expenditures of the year within the limits of its receipts. The appropriations of the two last years, including the yearly ten millions of the sinking fund, have each equalled the promised revenue of the ensuing year. While we foresee with confidence that the public coffers will be replenished from the receipts, as fast as they will be drained by the expenditures, equal in amount to those of the current year, it should not be forgot-

ten that they could ill suffer the exhaustion of larger disbursements."

After noticing the measures taken with a view to internal improvements, he mentions the report from the post office department, as very satisfactory and encouraging, and closes by recommending the subject of pensions to our remaining revolutionary officers and soldiers, as a debt of *justice*, rather than one of gratitude.

The report of the treasurer states, that more than six millions and a quarter, by estimation, would be in his hands, on the first of January, and recommends an addition to the tariff of 1824. The article of domestic *manufactures*, are estimated at more than seven millions, exported. Other exports at about eighty millions. He states that many articles of home manufacture had become cheaper, more abundant, and of superior quality, since the adoption of the tariff, than before, and presses on the country the importance of increasing the tariff, particularly on wool and woolen goods, fine cotton goods, bar iron and hemp. It is not possible, however, in this condensed sketch, to give an outline of this valuable report.

Early in the session, steps were taken to ascertain the importance of revising thoroughly, the tariff system of 1824. A committe was appointed, clothed with ample powers to investigate the subject. This report was made in February, from which we shall give a few extracts.

After stating the many obstacles necessary to be overcome, and the labours to which they were subject, the committe proceeds: "This labor being performed, the committee at once began their examinations of such witnesses, members of the house and others, as were within their reach, and believed to be possessed of valuable and practical information upon any of the subjects before them. The examination of these witnesses was not completed, when the arrival of some attending under summonses, was announced. An application was then immediately made to the house for leave to sit during the hours of session of the house; and nearly every day since that leave was granted, has been entirely occupied, to the almost total neglect of other public and private duties, in the laborious examination of witnesses, pursuant to the resolution under which the committee were acting. It is but justice here to remark, that the original expectation of the committee, under the resolution offered by them, to the house, was to have made an expeditious inquiry into the situation of one or two manufacturing interests, rather to enable them to determine what further protection these interests really required, than with the expectation, within the limited time which they had allowed to themselves for the purpose of being able to collect and report to the house, a body of evidence upon

several important branches of our domestic manufactures, so digested and arranged as to be of any essential service to the house or to the public, as a source of correct information upon these complicated subjects. The amendment, however, which was made to the resolution by the house, so as to give the committee the authority "to send for, and examine persons upon oath, in relation to the present condition of our manufactures, and to report the minutes of such examination to this house," it will readily be seen, added greatly to the labor which the committee had proposed for themselves; as, by that amendment, it was made the duty of the committee, should they think proper to examine witnesses, to take their testimony in detail, and in such order as to render it at least passably intelligible to the house. This additional labor was in no other way exceptionable to the committee than as it rendered somewhat doubtful their ability to give their report to the house within the time which they had signified that it would be received. But, even under this apprehension, so desirous were the committee of a full developement of the facts, that the amended resolution met their approbation: and they entered upon their duties, determined, if possible, to realize the expectations of the house, so far at least as regarded a report within the time they had indicated.

"They have examined a little short of thirty witnesses, and the testimony of each, hastily written out by way of question and answer, and annexed to this report, will show what facts have been collected by the examination, as well as the extent of the labor which the committee have performed. The testimony of each witness after it was taken, had been carefully read over with him, and so corrected as to meet the full assent of the witness to its accuracy.

"The leading subjects presented to the committee for additional protection, are iron and several manufactures of it, wool and its fabrics, hemp and some of the manufactures from it, flax and its manufactures, and domestic distilled spirits from grain, particular descriptions of glass, and fine and printed cottons. Upon all these subjects, witnesses have been examined, and their testimony, herewith reported, comprises the evidence, upon each subject, which the committee have taken under the resolution of the house, and embodies most of the information upon which they have acted in determining the features of the bill which they have agreed upon.

"The first subject which will be found in the bill, is that of iron, and considering the importance of the article, as one of both national and individual necessity, the changes in the present rates of duty are comparatively very light.

"The next subject in order is that of wool and woollens. To these subjects the greater part of the testimony of the witnes-

ses has been directed, and the committee have used every effort in their power to obtain precise information as to the facts as they do actually exist in relation to the interests both of the wool grower and the manufacturer of wool. The real importance of these subjects to those sections of the country where wool is grown, and in which the manufactories are located, the feeling which has for some time agitated the public mind throughout the whole country, in relation, on the one side, to the necessity of further protection to them, and on the other side, to the injurious effects which such a measure would have upon the purchasers of woollen fabrics, have all conspired to induce this exertion on the part of the committee. They have therefore made the examinations of the witnesses, upon those subjects, as minute as possible, and, perhaps, in some instances, they may appear tediously so. Indeed, many of the questions put to the witnesses will afford abundant evidence that the committee had not sufficient practical knowledge upon the subjects before them to enable them to make a series of interrogations, the answers to which would place the testimony taken, in the clearest light. And when the members of the house shall have examined the evidence relating to the manufacture of woollen goods, the committee cannot doubt they will be entirely convinced that none but a person intimately acquainted with the various operations, could have drawn out a series of questions upon the subject, susceptible of clear and intelligible answers. The time of the committee did not authorize even an attempt to do this, and, therefore, the examinations, and particularly of some of the witnesses first examined, will appear, as they were really taken—the one answer, in many, if not in most instances, suggesting the subsequent question. It will also be found upon an examination of the testimony, that the manufacture of woollens is hardly susceptible of being reduced within the limits of exact mathematical calculation, so as to enable the committee to arrive with this kind of certainty, at the amount of duty which will furnish full protection, and at the same time, will not go beyond that point. Certain positions, however, they believe to be proved by the evidence they have taken, which furnish great assistance in approaching to correct conclusions."

From all which the committee could gather on the subject, they think the following positions may be fairly stated.—

1st. That the manufacture of woollen goods in this country, is, at this time, a business laboring under severe depressions, and attended with loss more severe upon the finer qualities.

2d. That these depressions are owing, in a very great degree, to the excessive and irregular importations of foreign woollen goods into our markets: thus causing a fluctuation in, and an

uncertainty of price for those goods, more injurious to the American manufacturer than even the depression of price which these importations produce.

3d. That the difference between the prices of wool, of the same quality, in this country and in England, is at the present time about fifty per cent. in favor of the latter country.

4th. That the cost of raw wool in this country is about one half of the cost of the fabric, when prepared for the market, as a general rule applying to most kinds of cloths.

5th. That if the cost of the wool and the cost of the foreign materials used for dying, were the same in both countries, the process of manufacturing the wool into cloth, fitted for the market, can be performed as cheap in this country as it can in England.

6th. That the present duty on woollen goods does not furnish the desired protection, and that no reasonable duty can be effectual, unless it be a specific square yard, instead of ad valorem duty.

Taking, then these positions as granted, the committee proposed to lay the following duties:

1st. Upon all manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, the actual value of which at the place whence imported, shall not exceed fifty cents per square yard, a specific duty of sixteen cents upon every square yard.

2d. Upon all manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, the actual value of which, at the place whence imported, shall exceed fifty cents per square yard, and shall not exceed $1 00 per square yard, a specific duty of 40 cents upon every square yard.

3d. Upon manufactures of wool, or of which wool shall be a component part, the actual value of which at the place whence imported, shall exceed $1 00 per square yard, and shall not exceed $2 50 per square yard, a specific duty of $1 00 upon every square yard.

4th. Upon all manufactures of wool or of which wool shall be a component part, the actual value of which at the place whence imported shall exceed $2 50 per square yard, and shall not exceed $4 00 per square yard, shall be deemed to have cost $4 00 per square yard, and at such valuation, shall be charged with, and pay a duty of, 40 per centum advalorem.

5th. Upon all manufactures of wool, &c. the actual value of which, at the place whence imported, shall exceed $4 00 per square yard, shall be charged with, and pay a duty of, 45 per centum ad valorem.

The attention of the committee was next turned to hemp and flax, and certain manufactures from them. After showing that our country can raise and manufacture from these articles to

advantage, and that in some points they form an important item in the products of this country, they propose to lay a duty of $10 the ton, on raw hemp, and $9 the ton on flax, and would make the rate of duty progressive, until it should arrive at $60 the ton on each.

On foreign distilled spirits the committee proposed an additional duty of ten cents, and on foreign molasses, an increase of five cents the gallon.

The great importance of a National System, is so evident, that few doubt the propriety of a tariff for the protection of domestic manufactures. This was the all absorbing business of the last session, and the measure has been effected. Whether all the details are unexceptionable, is left for practice to determine. If faults should be discovered, they can be remedied by the legislature. If it should have an unequal bearing on different sections of the Union, the difficulty may be obviated; or, if not, the only evils which will remain, are those which are inseparable from all general systems. All that can be required, is the greatest good of the whole as a nation.

That opposition should be manifested to any great national change is not surprising; it would rather surprise if this were not the case. No such change can be made, without effecting individual interest. But, where the great, the permanent interests, and permanent prosperity of the country are at stake, both wisdom and duty dictate, that the minor interests should give way. The balance of trade has been long enough against us. Commercial difficulties and scarcity of money, substantiate the fact conclusively. To retrace our steps, and take an independent stand, was our only safe alternative, and we rejoice that this course has been pursued, because we are fully persuaded that the step will ultimately result in good.

Remarks upon Part Third.

The Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, no longer flows through a wilderness; large three masted ships sail up them, and more than two hundred steam boats enliven their banks.

Thus the United States cherish within their bosom, under the protection of liberty, an image and a memorial of most of the celebrated places of ancient and modern Europe—like that garden in the Campagna of Rome, in which Adrian had models of the different monuments of his empire erected.

It should be observed that there is scarcely a county but has a town, village, or hamlet, called Washington: touching unanimity of the gratitude of a nation!

Thirty high roads meet at Washington, as the Roman roads met at ancient Rome, and diverging from that point, run to the

circumference of the United States. The whole forming an interior circulation of roads of 25,747 miles.

From the points to which these roads tend it is obvious that they traverse tracts formerly wild, but now cultivated and inhabited. On a great number of these roads you may travel, post, or public stage coaches carry you from place to place at a moderate price. You may now take the diligence for the Ohio, or the Falls of Niagara, as in former time you engaged an Indian guide or interpreter. Cross roads branch off from the principal roads, and are equally provided with the means of conveyance. These means are almost always of two kinds, for as there are every where lakes and rivers, you may travel either in row boats, sailing boats, or steam vessels.

Vessels of the latter class make regular trips from Boston and New-York to New-Orleans; they are likewise established on the lakes of Canada, the Ontario, the Erie, the Michigan, the Champlain; on those lakes where thirty years ago scarcely the canoes of savages were to be seen, and where ships of the line now engage one another.

The steam vessels of the United States are not only subservient to the wants of commerce, and of travellers, but are also employed for the defence of the country; some of them, of immense size, placed at the mouth of rivers, armed with cannon and boiling water, resemble at once and the same time modern citadels and fortresses of the middle ages.

To the twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-seven miles of general roads must be added the extent of four hundred and nineteen district roads, and of fifty-eight thousand one hundred and thirty-seven miles of water-ways. The canals increase the number of the latter: the Middlesex canal joins the harbour at Boston with the river Merrimack; the Champlain canal forms a communication between that lake and the Canadian seas; the famous Erie or New-York canal, now unites Lake Erie and the Atlantic; the Santee, Chesapeake and Albemarle canals were constructed by the States of Carolina and Virginia; and as broad rivers running in different directions approach towards their sources, nothing was easier than to connect them together. Five roads to the Pacific Ocean are already known; one only of these roads passes through the Spanish territory.

A law of Congress, passed in the session of 1824–5, directs the establishment of a military post at Oregon. The Americans, who have a settlement on the Columbia, can thus penetrate to the great ocean by a zone of land nearly six degrees in breadth, between English, Russian, and Spanish America.

There are, nevertheless, natural limits to colonization. The forests to the north and west of the Missouri are bounded by

immense steppes, where not a tree is to be seen, and which seem to be unsusceptible of culture, though grass grows abundantly upon them. This verdant Arabia affords a passage to the colonists who repair in caravans to the Rocky Mountains and New-Mexico; it separates the United States of the Atlantic from the United States of the South Sea, like those deserts which, in the Old World, are interposed between fertile regions. An American has offered to construct, at his own expense, a solid high road from St. Louis on the Missisippi to the mouth of the Columbia, if Congress will grant him a tract ten miles in depth, on either side of the road. This gigantic proposal has not been accepted.

In the year 1789, there were only seventy-five post-offices in the United States: there are now upwards of seven thousand. From 1790 to 1795, these offices increased from seventy-five to four hundred and fifty-three; in 1800 their number was nine hundred and three; in 1805 they amounted to fifteen hundred and fifty eight; in 1810 to two thousand three hundred; in 1817 to three thousand three hundred and fifty-nine; in 1820 to four thousand and thirty; in 1828 to nearly eight thousand.

Letters and packets are conveyed by mail coaches, which travel about one hundred and fifty thousand miles a day, and by couriers, on horseback and on foot.

Offices for the sale of public lands are opened in the States of Ohio and Indiana, in the territory of Michigan, Missouri, and Arkansas, and in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. It is computed that one hundred and fifty millions of acres of land fit for cultivation, exclusively of the soil of vast forests, yet remain to be disposed of. These hundred and fifty millions of acres are estimated to be worth fifteen hundred millions of dollars, at the average rate of ten dollars per acre, and reckoning the dollar at no more than three francs—a very low calculation in every respect.

We find twenty five military posts in the Northern States, and twenty two in the Southern.

In 1790, the population of the United States was 3,929,326 souls; in 1800, it was 5,305,666; in 1810, 7,239,300; in 1820, 9,609,827. This last number included 1,581,436 slaves.

The population of the United States has increased every ten years, from 1790 to 1820, at the rate of thirty five per cent. Eight years have already elapsed of the ten, which will be completed in 1830, when, it is presumed the population of the United States will be little short of 12,875,000 souls; and the state of Ohio will have 850,000 inhabitants, and that of Kentucky 750,000.

If the population were to go on doubling every twenty-five years, the United States would have in 1855, a population of

25,750,000 souls ; and in twenty-five years more, that is to say, in 1880, that population would exceed fifty millions.

In 1821, the value of native and foreign productions exported from the United States amounted to the sum of 64,974,382 dollars. In the same year the public revenue was 14,264,000 dollars : the excess of the receipts beyond the expenditure was 3,334,826 dollars. In the same year, also, the national debt was reduced to 89,204,235 dollars.

The army has sometimes been raised to one hundred thousand men : and the Navy of the United States is composed of eleven sail of the line, nine frigates, and fifty other ships of various sizes.

It is superfluous to say any thing concerning the constitutions of the different states : it is sufficient to know that they are all free.

There is no predominant religion, but every citizen is expected to conform to some mode of Christian worship. The Catholic religion is making considerable progress in the Western States.

Supposing, which I believe to be the case, that the statistical summaries published by the United States are exaggerated by the national vanity, still there will be left a total of prosperity well worthy of our highest admiration.

To complete this astonishing picture, we must figure to ourselves cities like Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Savannah, New Orleans, lighted at night, filled with horses and carriages, offering all the gratifications of luxury, brought to their ports by thousands of ships ; we must figure to ourselves the lakes of Canada, formerly so solitary, now covered with frigates, brigs, cutters, boats, steam-vessels, intermixed with the canoes of the Indians, as the large ships and galleys are with pinks, sloops, and caiques, in the waters of the Bosphorus. Churches and houses, embellished with columns of Grecian architecture, rise from amidst these forests, and on the banks of these rivers, the ancient ornaments of the wilderness. Add to these, spacious colleges, observatories, erected for science in the abode of savage ignorance ; all religions, all opinions, dwelling together in peace, laboring in concert for the melioration of the human race, and the developement of the human understanding. Such are the prodigies of liberty.

The Abbe Raynal offered a prize for a solution of the question : " What influence will the discovery of the New World have upon the Old World."

Writers lost themselves in calculations relative to the exportation and importation of the precious metals, the depopulation of Spain, the increase of commerce, the improvement of the navy : nobody, as far as I know, sought the influence of the

discovery of America upon Europe, in the establishment of the American Republics. They figured to themselves the old monarchies continuing in much the same state as they then were, society stationary, the human mind neither advancing nor retrograding; they had not the least idea of the revolution which in the space of twenty years has taken place in opinions.

The most valuable of the treasures which America contains within her bosom is liberty; every nation is called to work this inexhaustible mine. The discovery of the representative republic by the United States is one of the greatest political events that ever occurred. This event proves, as I have elsewhere observed, that there are two practicable kinds of liberty; the one belonging to the infancy of nations, the offspring of manners and virtue, the liberty of the first Greeks and of the first Romans, and the liberty of the savages of America; the other born in the old age of nations, the offspring of knowledge and reason, the liberty of the United States, which has superseded the liberty of the Indian. Happy country, which in less than three centuries has passed from one liberty to the other, almost without effort, and by means of a contest which lasted only eight years!

Will America preserve its last kind of liberty? Will there not be a division of the United States? May we not already perceive the germs of these divisions? Has not a representative of Virginia already supported the thesis of the ancient Greek and Roman liberty with the systems of slavery against a deputy of Massachusetts, who advocated the cause of modern liberty without slaves, such as Christianity has made it?

Will not the Western States, extending themselves farther and farther, and being too remote from the Atlantic States, be desirous of having a government to themselves?

Lastly, are the Americans a perfect people? have they not their vices like other men? are they moraly superior to the English, from whom they derive their origin? Will not the tide of foreign emigration, incessantly pouring upon them from all parts of Europe, eventually destroy the homogeneousness of their race? Will not the mercantile spirit gain ascendency? Is not self interest beginning to be a predominant national defect among them?

We are also obliged to confess with pain, that the establishment of the Republics of Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chili and Buenos Ayres, is pregnant with danger to the United States. While the latter had about them nothing but the colonies of a Transatlantic kingdom, war was not probable.

May not rivalships now spring up between the old republics of North America and the New republics of Spanish America?

Will not the latter interdict alliance with European powers? If both sides should have recourse to arms; if the military spirit should take possession of the United States; a great captain might arise; glory loves crowns; soldiers are but brilliant forgers of chains, and liberty is not sure of preserving its patrimony under the guardianship of victory.

Let what will happen, liberty will never be entirely banished from America: and here it is right to specify one of the great advantages possessed by liberty, the offspring of manners.

Liberty, the offspring of manners, perishes when its principle deteriorates, and it is in the nature of manners to deteriorate with time.

Liberty, the offspring of manners, begins before despotism in the days of poverty and obscurity: it is lost in despotism, and in ages of glory and luxury.

Liberty, the offspring of knowledge, shines after ages of oppression and corruption: it advances with the principle which preserves and renews it, the knowledge of which it is the effect, instead of becoming feeble with time, like the manners which gave birth to the first liberty—knowledge, I say grows stronger on the contrary with time; thus it forsakes not the liberty which it has produced; constantly about that liberty, it is at once its generative virtue and its inexhaustible source.

To conclude; the United States have one safeguard more: their population does not occupy an eighteenth part of their territory. America still dwells in the wilderness: for a long time to come her deserts will be her manners, and knowledge her liberty.

Religion.—The consequences resulting from the enjoyment of religious liberty have been highly favorable. Free discussion has enlightened the ignorant, disarmed superstition of its dreadful powers, and consigned to oblivion many erroneous and fantastic creeds. Religious oppression, and the vindicitive feelings it arouses, are hardly known. Catholics and Protestants live together in harmony; and protestants who disagree, employ, in defending their own doctrines, and in assailing those of their antagonists, the weapons only of reason and eloquence.

In the New-England states, the independents or congregationalists constitute the most numerous denomination; in the middle states, the presbyterians; and in the southern, the methodists. Baptists, episcopalians, and Roman catholics, are found in all the states; but in Maryland and Louisiana, the catholics are more numerous than elsewhere. Each of these sects has one or more seminaries of learning, in which its peculiar doctrines are taught, and young men are educated for the minis-

try. Many other sects exist, but reason, less tolerant than the laws, is gradually diminishing the number.

AGRICULTURE IN 1820.—The number of persons engaged in agriculture was 2,870,646. The value of all its products exported during the year ending the 30th of Septemper, 1823, was 37,646,000 dollars. The principal articles were, cotton to the value of 20,445,000 dollars; flour to the value of 4,962,000 dollars; tobacco to the value of 4,852,000 dollars; and rice to the value of 1,821,000 dollars. The value of provisions of all kinds exported was 13,460,000 dollars, and it has, in many years, been greater. A people able to spare such an amount of the necessaries of life can never be in danger of suffering from want.

COMMERCE.—The state of the world, for several years subsequent to the commencement of the French revolution, offered great encouragement to the commercial enterprise of the country. While almost every other power was engaged in war, the United States were neutral; their vessels navigated the ocean in safety, and were employed to carry from port to port, the commodities of the belligerent nations. In fifteen years, beginning with 1793, these favorable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons, and the revenue arising from commerce, from 4,399,000 to 16,363,000 dollars.

In 1820, the number of persons engaged in commerce was 72,493. In 1823, the whole amount of exports was 74,799,000 dollars; the amount of imports was 77,579,009 dollars, the balance, in favor of the United States, being about three millions of dollars. As the imports, however, are always undervalued at the custom-house, the additional wealth, which, in that year, accrued to the nation from commerce, was undoubtedly greater.

In other years, the commerce of the country has flourished more. In 1807, the exports amounted to 108,343,000 dollars, and the imports to 138,574,000 dollars. The principal causes of the decline which has taken place, have been, the restoration of peace in Europe, and the increase of the product of domestic manufactures. The former has permitted all other nations to become our competitors; the latter has rendered it unnecessary to resort to Europe for most of the conveniencies and many of the luxuries of life. The depression will not long continue. The independence of the South American republics has opened a wide field for the enterprise of our merchants, and given a brighter hue to their future prospects.

DEBT, REVENUE, AND EXPENDITURES.—When, in 1790, the public debt was first funded, it amounted to about 75,000,000 of dollars. In 1803, by the purchase of Louisana, it was augmented to about 85,500,000. In the eight years which follow-

ed, a large amount was paid, leaving due, in 1812, but little more than 45,000,000. To defray the expenses of the war, which was declared in that year, more than 80,000,000 of new debt was contracted. A large portion has since been paid, and, on the first day of Janury, 1823, the amount of it was 90,865,877 dollars.

The present revenue of the republic is derived principally from commerce, and from the sale of public lands. In 1822, there accrued from the former source, the sum of 20,500,775 dollars, from the latter source, 1,803,581; and from other sources, 839,084. The amount, however, which was actually received, during the year, was but 20,232,427.

The expenditures, during the same year, were as follows: Civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous, 1,967, 996; for the pay and support of the army, the construction of forts, the supply of arms, the payment of pensions, and the various expenses of the Indian department, 5,635,188; for the support and increase of the navy, 2,224,458; for the payment of the interest, and for the redemption of that portion of the principal of the debt which became due within the year, 7,848,949; amounting in the whole to 17,676,591, and leaving an excess of revenue over expenditure of 2,555,836 dollars.

Great Britain may be taken as a favorable example of the European governments. The people of that kingdom pay, annually, for the support of their sovereign and his relatives, nearly two and a half millions of dollars, while the compensation of the president of the United States is but twenty-five thousand. In the salaries of the subordinate officers of government, the disproportion is not so great, but is generally nevertheless, as four or five to one.

The military peace establishment of Great Britain costs annually thirty-four millions of dollars; that of the United States but little more than five millions. The naval establishment of the former costs twenty-two millions; that of the latter less than two and a half millions. British subjects pay in taxes, raised exclusively for national purposes, at the rate of fifteen dollars yearly for each individual; the citizens of the United States pay, in national and state taxes, at the rate of but two dollars. And as the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland is included in the estimate, the individual wealth of the subjects of the united kingdom, and of the citizens of the American republic, may on an average, be considered nearly equal.

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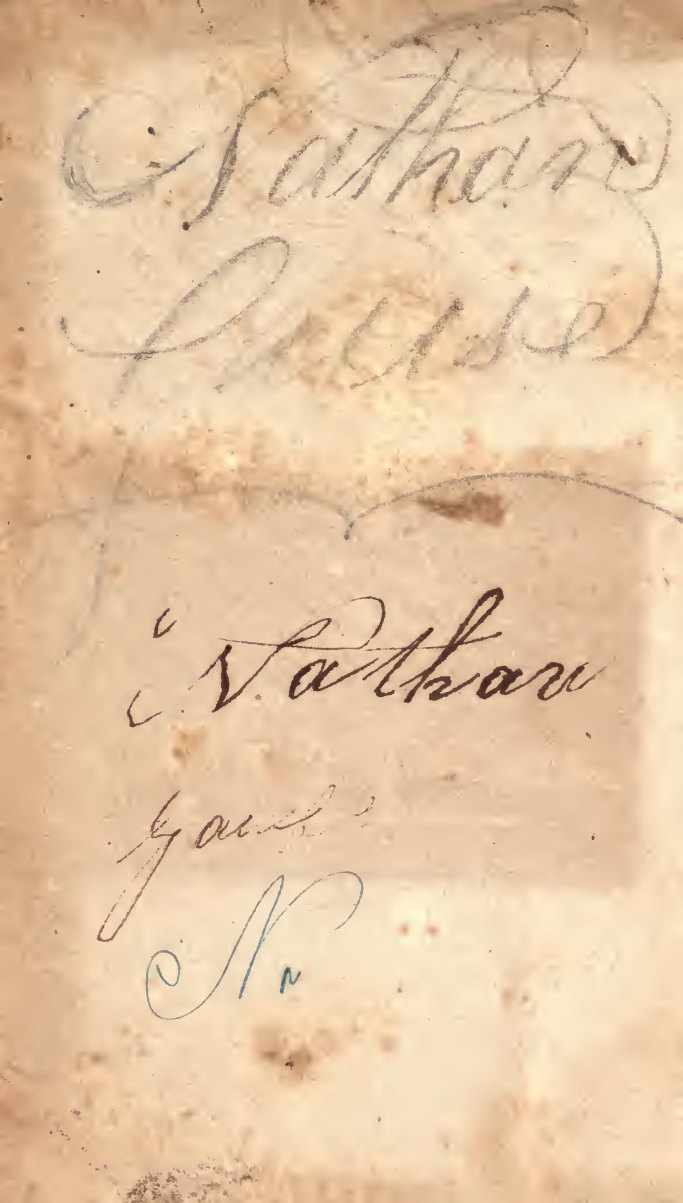

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